

FAREWELL AUSTRIA

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BY
KURT VON SCHUSCHNIGG

WITH EIGHT HALF-TONE PLATES



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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

THIS book was published in Austria just before the events which swept its author from office and his beloved country from the map of Europe.

Dr. von Schuschnigg, in his preface to the original edition, said that he was able to complete the book because of a lull in the political turmoil of Austria which occurred last year—a lull, we now see, before the storm—during which he “enjoyed the exquisite peace of St. Gilgen on the Wolfgangsee, where in rain and sunshine alike there was enough opportunity for him to write down that which for a long time had been occupying his thoughts”.

During those happy months he must have gained strength and determination for the heartbreaking decisions which he had soon to make. There were these words in his preface: “Precisely on days which serve for the examination of conscience, and in a special measure are dedicated to thoughts of the work of construction in state and society, in the face of the steady faith of all true Austrians, shades of doubt and fearfulness are bound to vanish. Over many a disappointment and many a reluctance, over every sudden approach of weariness, there triumphs the knowledge that the hour is come when all forces should be put at the service of the country. It is truly not easy to support a responsibility in this land and at this time; but my conviction of the justice and necessity of the path chosen, my vehement love of the Austrian idea, my faith in its invincibility and permanence, again and again proved throughout the

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

centuries, are stronger than all the 'ifs' and 'buts' of the sceptics. At the conclusion of every reflection this device stands ever clearer before us, ever more unequivocal, ever more manifest, notwithstanding storms and opposition, vulgarities and lies—the device of: Austria for ever—in spite of all and everything!" Recent events have shown the tragedy of these words; but, more than that, their sincerity has been proved to the world by their author's actions during the crisis.

Dr. von Schuschnigg embodied in the preface to his book a dedication of his pages to the memory of Engelbert Dollfuss. We would like to repeat here, with great respect, the dedication of the chapters which follow, from one who has already given so much, to the memory of one who gave all that he had for his country.

After the conclusion of Dr. von Schuschnigg's text there have been added in an appendix his three most important pronouncements during the crisis, in full and unabridged form. It must be that these represent his views and all that he felt he could make public of his personal feelings; and his words on these occasions are in accordance with this last sentence from his original preface:

"This book is nothing other than the testimony of an Austrian. It is the outcome of a soul's compulsion, and its purpose is to further justice, to awaken comprehension, and to serve the cause of truth."

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
PUBLISHERS' NOTE	V
I. AUSTRIA'S HISTORICAL MISSION	I
II. MY COUNTRY AS I SAW IT ON THE EVE OF WAR	10
III. REVOLUTION	34
IV. THE FIRST EPOCH OF REVOLUTIONARY AUSTRIA	48
V. SEIPEL	56
VI. YEARS OF CRISIS	73
VII. THE DECLINE OF PARLIAMENTARY INSTITUTIONS	81
VIII. SCHOBER	100
IX. FORCES OUTSIDE PARLIAMENT	113
X. ENGELBERT DOLLFUSS	129
XI. STORM SIGNALS	134
XII. VISITS TO GERMANY	157
XIII. STRUGGLE FOR AUSTRIA	171
XIV. THE CHOICE IS MADE	190
XV. LIQUIDATION. ENDS AND MEANS	212
XVI. FRAGMENTS FROM A DIARY	231
CONCLUSION	271
APPENDIXES	279

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

DR. KURT VON SCHUSCHNIGG	.	.			<i>Frontispiece</i>
DR. KARL RENNER	<i>facing page</i> 34
DR. OTTO BAUER	.	.	.	„	„ 34
MGR. IGNAZ SEIPEL	.	.	.	„	„ 56
DR. JOHANNES SCHOBER	.	.	.	„	„ 100
DR. ENGELBERT DOLLFUSS	.	.	.	„	„ 130
CARDINAL INNITZER	.	.	.	„	„ 176
MAJOR EMIL FEY	.	.	.	„	„ 208
PRINCE STARHEMBERG	.	.	.	„	„ 208
DR. WILHELM MIKLAS	.	.	.	„	„ 240

*. . . Denn immer noch, wenn des Geschickes Zeiger
Die grosse Stunde der Geschichte wies,
Stand dieses Volk der Tänzer und der Geiger
Wie Gottes Engel vor dem Paradies.*

*Und hat mit rotem Blut und blanken Waffen
Zum Trotze aller Frevelgier und List
Sich immer wieder dieses Land erschaffen,
Das ihm der Inbegriff der Erde ist.*

*Erwäge dies in deinem dunklen Walten,
Unendlicher, der Schmach und Sieg verleiht,
Denn unser grosses stummes Händefalten
Ist nur gerichtet auf Gerechtigkeit.*

—ANTON WILGANS: "Das grosse Händefalten."

(Whenever History's tragic repetitions
Have called for our highest sacrifice
This gentle race of dancers and musicians
Stood boldly at the gates of Paradise.

They shed their blood as valiant defenders
Of what they love, their old and sacred soil—
They recreate its everlasting splendours
Which no intruder ever came to spoil.

We raise our hands in fervent admiration
To Thee, O Lord, who giveth victory,
And our prayer, the clamour of a nation,
Demands for nothing more than equity!)

CHAPTER ONE

AUSTRIA'S HISTORICAL MISSION

PEOPLE frequently called pre-War Austria the other Sick Man of Europe; they saw only her problems, and overlooked what she stood for, forgot how she had come into being. For the Dual Monarchy this attitude was afterwards to have fateful consequences.

With an area of 240,456 square miles, reaching from Bregenz on the Lake of Constance to Czernowitz in the Carpathians, from Lemberg in Poland to Ragusa on the Adriatic, with far more than fifty million inhabitants, in extent this Empire occupied the second place in Europe, in population the third. It was colonized by twelve different nations, who were by no means to be found everywhere in compact settlements. Such, then, was how Austria-Hungary looked when she came face to face with the world about her.

But in respect of constitution, this great power was divided into two parts—the Kingdom of Hungary, and the “Kingdoms and Provinces represented in the Reichsrat” (Parliament of Austria proper), without any common legal appellation.

Thus the old Austria was a term, an idea, a reality, an administrative organization; but her politicians, for the most part, were not willing to pledge themselves on the very name “Austria”. Moreover, those who were ready to do so were not strong enough to enforce the practice.

And yet this Austria was by no means a mere legal fiction. As a rule, the peoples of all the tongues of the Monarchy were quite aware they had much to lose that was of value,

hardly anything more to gain. About the inner disposition of the house styled Austria-Hungary they squabbled noisily, as was the habit in Austrian parliaments—so noisily, indeed, that outsiders as a rule, judging only by those shrill wrangles, had come to the conclusion that there was no real wish for a house in common and that the centrifugal forces prevailed. But actually, down to the War, such a belief was on the whole erroneous.

Though the great majority of Austrians wanted to live side by side in one Empire, in respect of its name and inner structure there could be no unity. Even Thomas G. Masaryk admits this general feeling when he writes: "... I was at pains to make up my mind definitely to have to oppose Austria and the Austrian idea by acts."

Under such conditions every Austrian government was perforce required to follow laboriously a policy of pacification and postponement, of bartering and haggling, a policy which used up and destroyed men and nerves, time and money; and on whatever strength it had been left with, a heavy strain was imposed by the continuous efforts to arrive at a compromise with Hungary, a country which stood up for her own constitutional rights with energy and persistence.

Side by side with the two governments, and representing the Monarchy in its foreign dealings, there was a sort of joint Government of the Empire, consisting of the Ministries for War, Finance, Foreign Affairs and the Imperial Household. For a long time some of these ministers were allowed to call themselves "Ministers of the Empire", but afterwards, when dusk was falling over Austria, even this nomenclature was eliminated on account of constitutional considerations. There then remained only the highly complicated distinction, comprehensible to the initiated only, between "K.u.K.", "K.K." and "K.U."¹

¹ "K.u.K." (Imperial and Royal) was used for the joint ministries and their subordinates, while "K.K." (Imperial-Royal) designated Austrian,

Apart from the common army there existed an Austrian "Landwehr" (Second Reserve) and the Hungarian "Honved" (Reserve with special privileges). Landwehr and Honved, the armed forces of the two divisions of the Monarchy, were each controlled by its own ministry, the Austrian Landwehr with German as its official language, the Honved with Hungarian, supplemented by some formations where the use of Croat was authorized.

Above all these bodies there was the Crown, personified, until just before the downfall of the Empire, in the Emperor and King, Francis Joseph, whom many called the last representative of the old-style Monarchy, the Last of the Knights.

Become, through grief and personal destiny, a legendary figure, the Monarch towered in lonely greatness, as it were, into the dusk of historical Austria. As a young archduke he had been given his first lessons in constitutional law by the famous Chancellor, Prince Metternich, and after Metternich his personal experiences had extended down past Felix Schwarzenberg, Alfred Windischgraetz, Ludwig Kossuth, Cavour, Napoleon III, the emperors William and Alexander, Bismarck, Moltke and Andrassy, through the epoch of Liberalism and the Christian revival until long after the days of Lueger.¹

Between the period of the post-chaise and the arrival of the aeroplane there stretched his reign of nearly seventy years. Seventy years of technical progress, revolution in thought, advancement of nations, radical transformation in the conceptions of constructive statecraft. When Francis Joseph ascended the throne there had been much talk about the renewed German Empire to come. Friedrich Liszt, the protagonist of the German Customs Union idea, had just and "K.U." (Royal-Hungarian) Hungarian state institutions. Thus everything pertaining to the joint army was "K.u.K.", the Austrian railroads were "K.K." and the Hungarian ones "K.U." (*Translators' note.*)

¹ Dr. Karl Lueger, Mayor of Vienna 1897-1910, principal leader of the Catholic movement in pre-War Austria. (*Translators' note.*)

died, and whoever spoke of the Reich and called himself a "Great-German" moved in historic tracks, where Austria had a particular and leading part to play.

At the time of Francis Joseph's death, the Reich in the old sense (and even outside Austria) had been interred, not only theoretically but in fact, although there existed an outward appearance of it and in the jewel room of the Hofburg in Vienna there still rested the old German imperial crown.

When Francis I, in 1806, discarded the title of a German emperor, this had been nothing more than the formal recognition of an historical fact accomplished long ago. In Goethe's "Faust" the students sitting together in Auerbach's wine-cellar already wonder how long the Holy Roman Empire will still survive:

*"The good old Holy Roman Realm,
How hangs it still together?"*
A scurvy song! Faugh! A political song!
A filthy song! Thank God with day's return
The Holy Roman Empire's none of your concern.

The nationalistic tendencies of the nineteenth century led up from the Risorgimento to the Wilhelmine epoch in Germany. Austria was now evidently isolated from the general movement. The old feeble Reich had to yield before new vigorous states. Austria struggled against the stream till the year 1866;¹ then a new task offered itself to her—in fact it was imposed upon her by the stern fate of historic development, though not the less great and significant on that account.

To bring together the various nationalities, their civilizations and languages, for the purpose of achieving political and economic power and welfare—that was her historical European mission in the new form. From the standpoint of German culture she should unite the various contending

¹ When the Prussians defeated Austria at Sadowa. (*Translators' note.*)

AUSTRIA'S HISTORICAL MISSION

national forces for the benefit of each and all, and for the sake of a common pacific development founded upon and led by German traditions.

For this purpose it was important to preserve historical continuity, and indeed the old imperial idea has worked from the distant past—from Wallenstein's camp during the Thirty Years' War, down past the bivouac of Radetzky in Italy, down to the mobilization under Conrad von Hoetzendorf in 1914.

The Austro-German Dual Alliance of 1879 was merely the logical extension of an old and inevitable historical path, and whoever on this side or that might think that an alternative course could have been possible, would sin in imagination against the spirit of History. This is by no means to assert that the policy of the Dual Alliance proceeded always along the right lines. Indeed, many a blunder involved Vienna and Berlin in a common fate of tragedy.

This line of reasoning leads to the following conclusion :

The first Reich, the Holy Roman Empire, had become in the course of the centuries a hollow empty form, a mere fiction. After it, still induced by a just perception of geopolitical and national appropriateness, came several cautious experiments—the German League for instance, an inadequate constitutional construction—and then a makeshift: an alliance between two separate states, a matter of international law.

The triumph of Nationalism in the course of the nineteenth century presented Austria with a new political task. In a territory inhabited by different nationalities she should, through her long experience and her talent, build the bridge towards a new realization of the Reich idea in the modern age.

Upon this task Austria broke. It is idle to debate whether the attempt would have also miscarried without war, or had war ended differently. If conditions had re-

mained as they were until 1914, then, I believe, collapse would have been a question of the next decades only—and why? Because Austria had not succeeded in finding a way from the old to the new Reich. Federalism alone has not the power to call into being an Empire, for that is not merely a question of constructive administration. More than anything else was the dualism created by the compromise with Hungary an obstacle in the way towards the establishment of a genuine new Empire. And thus it came about, as it was bound to come: the magnetic force of neighbouring states, each impelled by the ideal of national unity, together with national sentiment, proved stronger than judgment and insight. For we know to-day that the year 1937, as a reality, looks very different from what many a nationalist dreamer anticipated in his visions in 1914.

In fact there is no Reich to-day, in the old sense of the word, and a glance at the British Empire and at the new Italian Colonial Empire only confirms this, although on the continent of Europe there are many states, big and strong, small and weak, and among the strongest and most concentrated, the national-socialistic Germany.

That the idea of the Reich should be kept alive—though transferred to the sphere of Spirit and Civilization—continues to be Austria's hereditary duty, historically confirmed.

It is true that the conception of the Holy Empire has ever been borne on a world of romantic ideas, bordering even on the Transcendental; but the realm created by Charles the Great was also a material reality and power of the first order. This Emperor intended to establish a world Empire, consciously continuing the task of ancient Rome, the heritage of which had fallen to a new age. To unite the West in the Christian spirit, to place the symbol of a common imperial crown above the various kings and princes of the individual nations—that was the aim and purpose of this Holy Roman Empire. Certainly, such a conception could, at that time, only be realized by imperialist

methods, but in the last analysis this Reich was based upon and justified by a great civilizing design.

The more vigorously the states and peoples strove after unrestricted freedom and took up an attitude of defence against any kind of union and restraint, the looser the bands of the Empire became, the fainter its idea. With the passage of the centuries and with technical and cultural advancement the range of its influence grew ever narrower, until of the World Imperium, of the continental Reich, there was left over only a loosely organized Central Europe, still called Holy Roman Empire of German Nations. Yet within this compass, considerable cultural values and uniting spiritual forces were ever streaming forth from the conception of this Empire. But what had once been a fact now gradually became an appearance, and a sharp conflict arose between the imperial and the national idea. Thus even Austria, the historic upholder of the Empire, could preserve the imperial crown only through the territorial possessions of the House of Habsburg, now grown to the size of a great state.

When in 1804 the last Roman-German Emperor, Francis II, proclaimed himself Emperor of Austria, he thereby created a new political entity, but not an Empire in the traditional sense of the word. Thus when the Holy Reich was wound up formally, and the attempts in the first half of the nineteenth century to revive it proved abortive, the task of Austria was to foster a new imperial conception, upon a new plane, though in a smaller scale; and for this task she was more qualified by her history than any other state. It is an open question whether it was still possible at all to unite in one family and lead in the spirit of Teutonic culture the non-German peoples, who had become of age, were ambitious and dreamed of their individual nationalisms. Anyhow, the inexorable realities of the age proved stronger than the attractive romanticism of what was in itself doubtless a true and reasonable idea.

What remains over to-day from old Austria—32,400 square miles, expressed in terms of surface area—certainly offers no scope for a renewal of the imperial idea and another imperial crown. Austria is become a small state. Yet there are even smaller states in Europe, smaller in population or in extent, which nevertheless play a notable part in continental politics, and that precisely because theirs is an historical task. Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, or the Scandinavian countries are examples.

Our new state would not be Austria, would not be worth while persisting, if its inherited mission, in new and modern form, was not able to break through. Yet not force nor the instruments of war but rather the spirit and the work of culture can discharge the task of the mediator in an arena which, resounding with many tongues and organized into separate states, still needs some kind of spiritual and economic unity in order to survive. Such a service for Europe can be performed only by a power which does not fall under the suspicion of following incidental imperialistic aims.

Thus "Empire" and "State" are to-day still totally different conceptions, not to be looked upon as synonyms. The possible scope of such an "Empire" has been revolutionized. It persists only in the spiritual sphere and has apparently been thrust back into the dematerialized, well-nigh transcendental state where, in a different age and under different conditions, the first Holy Empire had found the sources of its strength. Certainly these new trends have nothing in common with what the word "Empire" stands for in colloquial usage.

Historical Austria still makes her influence felt in a new form and in new, fundamentally altered conditions, across the past into the new age. Faithful to her tradition she has left us not only a task of extra-national importance to perform, but also a conspicuously German task, a task which we Austrians alone can discharge to the advantage and profit

AUSTRIA'S HISTORICAL MISSION

of the German people to whom we are bound through our civilization—the people from whose midst Faust came, whom Goethe made to say: “In the beginning was the spirit of things.”

CHAPTER TWO

MY COUNTRY AS I SAW IT ON THE EVE OF WAR

ON the following pages I shall record some personal impressions from my youth, and these should certainly not be looked upon indiscriminately as if they represented the feelings of my entire generation.

In most respects life was simpler thirty years ago than it is to-day, but even then young people of fifteen to twenty displayed a lively interest in politics and grappled earnestly with their problems—of which Austria had more than her share. One anxiety at any rate we were spared: anyone who wanted to work and was able to work, anyone who had a sane ambition for achievement and possessed average gifts and health to match, had no need to worry over his earning a living, according to his free choice and within the frontiers of his country. How much that meant, only the young Austrian of the present day can appreciate properly.

Problems of a type entirely different from to-day's faced the pre-War generation. In the first place the social question aroused intellectual discussion and heated debate, although few people ever contemplated a real reform of the existing order of things. The leading part in this controversy had fallen to the Socialists. Previous to the War, the number of their followers was steadily increasing; but they had more or less touched the limits of their field of activities. And since Socialists have always aspired to capture the masses, they had begun to deviate from objective reasoning; for even in those bygone days one could not appeal simultaneously to

Reason and to the Mass-mind. On the other side the Christian Social Reformers were gradually increasing and this movement was taking deep roots, though it never secured a compact and politically important following.

As a rule, the prevailing classes within the smaller municipalities, the educated people of the provinces and the bulk of the well-to-do middle-classes had no economic anxieties at all and for the most part took no real interest in social problems. But, still, everyone realized in some way that Capitalism had produced certain abuses, and people who had suffered under these abuses or who merely went about with their eyes open displayed at a quite early date a tendency to put forward radical solutions for the abolishment of the social evil. In the cities particularly, young people who were alert mentally and had the realistic outlook, were concerned with the question how best to check the growing proletarianism and improve the position, then deplorable, of the manual worker—problems aggravated just then by the rapid spread of industry.

Model programmes of social reform had at that time a certain vogue among the youthful. They debated them, wrote and read about them, but as a rule this interest was confined to the study or to after-meal gatherings, for, in actual fact, those young men were almost never in intimate touch with the realities of life. In this respect the post-War period has brought about an undeniable progress, and the artisan-student movement¹ may be mentioned as an example.

But what (in the period of which I treat) most interested the young Austrian, especially if he lived in one or other of the mixed-linguistic frontier zones, was the national question. He was bound, sooner or later, to find himself involved in the maze of problems connected with the

¹ In Austria, as well as in Germany and other European countries, many poor students earn their living to-day by doing some kind of manual or intellectual work besides their studies. This artisan-student movement is largely encouraged by the universities and the State.

different nationalities of which the Monarchy consisted. The part he took in this matter generally shaped his entire attitude towards his state and Fatherland.

The conflict of nationalities lasted right up to the eve of the War, all the time taking forms more and more violent. Everywhere in Europe Nationalism had developed since the middle of the nineteenth century, although its progress varied from country to country. Within the framework of the old Dual Monarchy the movement had one special feature: it did not really spring from the spirit of the population, nor was it originally fought out on a wide field. Among all the nationalities it was rather diminutive groups of intellectuals who first stirred up the fire.

These groups magnified national discontents even where, judged by post-War conditions, there was no legitimate ground for them, and they provoked quarrels in order to keep aglow, particularly in exposed areas such as the mixed-linguistic districts, the sparks they would need to fan, at the appropriate occasion, into the flame of political passion.

And all this was done in the face of a lenient executive which repeatedly changed its course, hushed up or smoothed over disputes and which, in the noisy parliaments of universal suffrage—in force in Austria since 1907—offered to loyalists a picture that was the reverse of encouraging and attractive.

Above the waves of passion there was the Crown alone.

“If Francis Joseph vaults into the saddle, his peoples will follow him.” Bismarck had once said this to those who doubted Austria’s military value as an ally, and 1914 proved him right. There were people afterwards who did not want to recognize this, and when it was not possible for them, in view of the historical facts, to sustain the charge of Austria’s inadequate loyalty, they attempted to allege her altogether worthlessness as an ally.¹ To bolster up this theory, imperial Austria was classified as a “living corpse”. But indeed, only

¹ In certain controversial writings of the post-War period, as, for instance, *My Struggle*, by Adolf Hitler, the alliance with Austria-Hungary

by wearing very dark-tinted glasses could one see things in such a light.

Undoubtedly the really logical anti-Austrians, in their struggle against the old state, had also put the obliteration of the dynasty upon their programme, yet up to the beginning of the War only a few irredentist fanatics went as far as that. They represented but a miserable minority which generally shunned the daylight. At any rate there was no majority of Austrians of German language behind the Hohenzollern furore artificially worked up in different parts of the country. "Long live the Hohenzollerns" had been the slogan of some rabid Austro-German nationalists before the War, and afterwards this was transformed into the cry "Home to Germany!"¹

Hungary had to deal with her own problems in this regard, the solution of which was mostly a constitutional matter; but as regards Austrian domestic politics, the quarrel with the Czechs was of the most urgent and recurrent importance.

The so-called "Badeni disorders" particularly aroused heated discussion among young people before the War. Like many another Austrian statesman before and since, Prime Minister Count Badeni, a Pole, had endeavoured to cut the Gordian knot of the paralysing national dissensions. That he was not fortunate in his attempt must be admitted, and his efforts gave offence in quarters where loyalty to Austria was beyond all question. But for all that I believe that an unbiased judgment formed to-day leads to a milder opinion of his intentions. For the sake of Austria's prestige abroad and her domestic prosperity every true patriot must at that time have strived for the union of all constructive forces within the country that were ready for active co-opera-

has been represented as having been in opposition to the interests of the German Empire.

¹ The slogan of Austrian National Socialists since 1933. (*Translators' note.*)

tion. This, precisely, had been Count Badeni's aim, and in order to obtain the goodwill of the Czechs he was ready to accept in principle a bilingual system among the public bodies of Bohemia and Moravia. Every subject should have the right to use his mother tongue in the courts and in all his dealings with the authorities. At that time the Austrians of German nationality looked upon this plan as if it meant a frivolous challenge to their predominant position in the Monarchy. But if we look back at Badeni's programme to-day and compare it with the solution of the Czech problem brought about in 1918, we find that the German population had not so much reason to complain as they had believed thirty years earlier.

Those were the days when the plan of establishing Slovene classes at the classical grammar school at Cilli in South Styria¹ led to a cabinet crisis in Vienna, when the motion to inaugurate a law-course in Italian at the University of Innsbruck provoked the resignation of the governor of the Tyrol. On the other hand it was taken as a matter of course that officials of the various tongues should make use of German in intercourse among themselves and not feel their national susceptibilities hurt thereby. This was done, not on account of regulations, but simply for obvious practical reasons, and no one came off badly. Undoubtedly the various nations of the Monarchy would have continued to live together in peace had they not been persuaded into the belief that by quarrelling they could better serve their individual interests.

This state of things was not altogether disadvantageous to the cultural predominance of the German element. Everyone could see that, if he wished to see it—provided he did not identify the nation with imperialistic and monopolistic aims.

But even after the revolution and the collapse of the Dual Monarchy many Austrians of German language were still

¹ Nowadays called Celje and belonging to Yugoslavia.

unable to recognize what Austria had stood for, what the idea of Empire she embodied had meant. Although, in the meantime, the German element had itself become a minority in some of the new states and experienced the hardships and inequalities characteristic of the post-War minorities policy, those people still saw in the breakdown of the Monarchy a national advantage. The rabid nationalists of yesterday developed into the scorners of new Austria as well, notwithstanding that this much derided Monarchy had brought them national freedom and even predominance, while the new state is still carrying on a persistent fight for the maintenance of German culture.

An attitude such as this certainly belongs to the singularities of political evolution and is only to be explained in part by the fact that in many fields of life, and particularly in the plane of politics, Hatred makes her victims blind and brushes aside all sound judgment.

Old Austria could have achieved her mission had only a vigorous and general acceptance of her true idea led to the suppression of extreme nationalism. The Austrian of German language was just the one who should, in view of the distribution of the German settlements throughout Central and South-East Europe, have recognized that the existence of the old Monarchy was a great advantage to him, provided he felt himself Austrian first and German in the second place. And if he could not rally to that view himself, then clearly he had no right to expect that Poles, Czechs and Slovenes should put Austria above their individual nationalisms.

It was certainly not by mere chance that the unbridled phase of national conflicts should have coincided with the general belief in parliamentary democracy as the most perfect form of government. With us the parliamentary system was not built upon old tradition as is the case in England. It had rather abruptly sprung from the ideals of the nineteenth century. One may estimate its values as one

wishes, but this much can be asserted: parliamentary democracy was not in a position to produce an adequate solution for problems so thorny as those of the nationalities in Austria. For such a task everything was lacking—institutions as well as personalities sufficiently strong to bring opponents together, to weld divergent aspirations into a peaceful co-operation towards the common end.

Judged by human standards, the old Empire could have been aroused to new life only by a wise authoritative leadership which, at the appropriate time and in the light of the country's organic evolution, had established some kind of national federalism and thus remodelled the Monarchy into a real "Reich" consisting of autonomous territories. Transforming, at any rate for the interim, the system of parliamentary representation, a government with far-reaching powers could have carried the whole operation through during a period of peaceful prosperity.

This hope, however, was shattered on June 28, 1914!

It is strange how this fateful day remains riveted in the mind. On Sunday evening, during supper at Feldkirch College, one of the servants gave us the frightful news. The end of the term was at hand and we boys were in a holiday mood. It may have been half-past seven.

The tragic event made an overwhelming impression upon myself and my companions, all boys who were completing the Septima.¹ We would not at first believe it, and when it was confirmed, the vague presentiment of impending horrors caused in myself, then a sixteen-year-old boy, a shock such as I seldom experienced in later life.

Our way of education accounted for that.

We Austrian boys had been accustomed to look on the Archduke Francis Ferdinand as the living embodiment of

¹ Seventh class of the Austrian eight-class system for classical grammar schools which start at the age of about ten with the "Prima" and end with the "Octava". (*Translators' note.*)

our patriotic hopes. Therefore no one could now picture what would come afterwards. National reorganization and consolidation, the conception of a stronger Austria—this hope was associated with his name in our minds, a name, moreover, that had long been a rallying cry for the more active forces of the country.

And I might remark in passing that malicious reports of the Archduke's alleged anti-German outlook and pro-Czech tendencies, assiduously put about by circles hostile to the dynasty—particularly by the Pan-Germans—had come to the ears of us boys, together with the first hints of an unsavoury story, then taking shape, regarding the Archduke Charles Francis Joseph,¹ afterwards heir to the throne. It was plain that efforts were already afoot to sap the authority of the dynasty, and the most mendacious and noxious methods were being employed in the campaign. The person of the Emperor alone was still treated with respect even by those scandalmongers, and that because of his overwhelming popularity among the masses. The beer-cellar politicians and self-elected reformers of the age opposed to the dynasty preferred to slink into the background when there was even a question of the Monarch's position.

Like thousands of my contemporaries from the different Austro-Hungarian nationalities I had grown up in a rigid monarchical and loyal atmosphere where particular stress was put upon our cultural relationship with the German nation.

And now a word or two about our upbringing.

Families whose heads served the state as soldiers or civil administrators were a class typically Austrian, a strong prop whose branches spread into every province of the old Monarchy. Numerically, the German-speaking element among these families was a strong one, and since German was the language used in the army and civil administration, all those officers and officials became interpreters of German civilization as manifested in the Austrian spirit. These

¹ Later on, Emperor Charles I, who lost the throne in 1918.

forces, upon which the state rested, thus had an obvious national importance, a consideration which is in itself a refutation of the shallow conception of Austria as an organism deleterious or even dangerous for German culture.

That many Germans who lived in the mixed-linguistic frontier territories should, nevertheless, have lapsed into such a superstition and awaited with impatience the collapse of the Monarchy is one of the strangest paradoxes, rich in irony, of the story of Austrian domestic politics. It was not at all difficult to foresee what must be the result of this attitude. If it were not so tragic one would be tempted to recall the words: *Volenti non fit iniuria*.¹

Born at Riva, on Lake Garda, then my father's garrison town, I was sent to an elementary school in a Vienna suburb. I had never seen extravagance at home. The Austrian who lived on a fixed income drawn from the state always led a spartan, frugal existence, with no pretension to luxury. This applied to officers and officials more than to anyone. But I owe a debt of gratitude to my parents for my sunny, peaceful and untroubled childhood, for the spectacle I was offered of self-control and simplicity, for the joy of our happy family life.

My mother came of a family long settled in Innsbruck, in the Tyrol. One of her uncles founded the well-known Tyrol glass-painting industry, another was a much-loved doctor, and the third, a master craftsman. Dr. Kathrein, for many years chief of the provincial government of the Tyrol, a leader of the Conservative Party and once, in stormy days, President of the Chamber of Deputies, also belonged to the family, being an uncle by marriage.

Kathrein started life as a poor student and he died an acting Privy Councillor to His Majesty and a hereditary baron. A career such as his was by no means out of the

¹ "He who wishes a thing must not complain if he gets it."—Principle of Roman Law.

ordinary in the Austria of those days, when the son of a non-commissioned officer or a gendarme would often become an excellency. In the diplomatic service and the political administration only were things somewhat different.

On my father's side the family came from the Klagenfurt¹ district. My great-grandfather's career as a Klagenfurt property owner was an honourable one, and my grandfather became a soldier and served under Radetzky² in Venice as a cadet, in subsequent grades spending most of his active career in the Tyrol, where he retired, after fifty years' service, with the rank of provincial inspector of gendarmerie. His wife came of a middle-class family long settled at Rosenheim in Bavaria, and so when the title of nobility was conferred afterwards, the Austrian and Bavarian colours (black and yellow, and blue and white respectively) were united in the family coat of arms.

My father was born at Kufstein, passed through the Wiener Neustadt military academy, was gazetted to the "Kaiserjaeger",³ and served afterwards in the Tyrolean second reserve.

Of all this I was reminded later, when in the heat of political controversy, which unfortunately often tended towards personal slander, Croatian, Slovene or Italian origin was thrown up in reproach against me. Of course, had this been true, I would have had no reason whatever to be ashamed of such an origin, but since this was alleged in the course of highly objectionable polemics, the untruth of such statements had to be established.

Like many another army family in imperial Austria we, too, had to reckon with having to live in garrison towns where school facilities would be inadequate—Galicia (in Poland) and Dalmatia were among such spots, little loved,

¹ Capital of the province of Carinthia.

² Famous Austrian general in the first half of the nineteenth century, who mostly fought in Italy.

³ Imperial Sharpshooters, a celebrated Tyrolean regiment.

(*Translators' notes.*)

to which the wearer of the Emperor's uniform might find himself banished for a great part of his life. That was why it was the practice in army circles for the children—who for the most part would inherit nothing except a good education—to be sent at an early age to a boarding school.

For this purpose in Austria there existed several military institutes, from grammar schools up to the cadet colleges and, finally, the military academies, as well as the famous Theresianum¹ in Vienna, intended first of all for the sons of the aristocracy and the well off, and a large number of boarding schools, middle-class in character, administered mostly by the Catholic teaching orders.

Thus, before I was ten years old my way had taken me to Feldkirch, in the Vorarlberg, where the Jesuits had a school known as Stella Matutina, a noted institution then able to look back on some thirty or forty years of useful activity.

Having been a pupil of the Jesuits, I had in later years to listen to reproaches concerning this kind of education, reproaches coming from friendly and unfriendly critics alike. I have always been grateful to my teachers, a point that would be hardly worth referring to, were it not that this school exercised a decisive influence on my career and outlook, especially as regards those very questions round which conflicts have arisen in the new Austria. This fact I cannot deny, and the older I get the more conscious I am of it.

The influence of the school was all the more marked because it worked on the boys throughout the entire school year. The college in my day was run on severe and Spartan lines. Sport at Stella Matutina was looked upon as a matter of duty long before it became fashionable elsewhere.²

On the other hand, during the eight years of the cur-

¹ A college founded by Empress Maria Theresa for the benefit of young noblemen, but later accessible also to other boys. The Theresianum was and is still regarded as one of the most distinguished colleges in Austria, in some way comparable to Eton.

² Austrian schools before the War generally did not cultivate sports.

(*Translators' notes.*)

riculum, the boys were required to stay on at the school for the Christmas and Easter holidays, and only at the end of the last term was there a six days' vacation previous to the final examinations.

Originally barracks, the school buildings at Feldkirch were a gift of the Emperor Francis Joseph to the German province of the Society of Jesus when its members were driven from Germany by order of Bismarck.

That was why the masters and "prefects" were, with few exceptions, of German or Swiss origin—though it would be wrong to imagine that their expulsion had stamped the German Jesuits with the mark of the refugee. Such was not at all the case, and when on national holidays the black, white and red flag of the German Empire floated side by side with the Austrian colours from the school buildings, that was due to the fact that the college had a purely German department run on the lines of schools in the Reich and consisting of eight classes, in addition to the Austrian section. This flag also bore witness to the ardent German spirit of our teachers and to their feeling of unity with the German people. Anyhow, they knew to combine this feeling with perfect loyalty towards the Austrian state.

In common with hundreds of other young Austrians, peasant boys as well as sons of aristocrats, I received my first lessons in Austrian national harmony in the truest meaning of the word.

This fraternal atmosphere was not always quite easily maintained, the more so as our defects were pointed out discreetly to us Austrians, and German energy and German progress were often held up to us as a pattern. For all that we grew into good Austrians, recognizing the worth of our own country yet with no disposition to belittle the qualities of our comrades from the Reich. The rivalry encouraged consciously or unconsciously between us and them was a commendable one and from it the spirit of real comradeship grew.

And here I might remark incidentally that I never supposed myself to be a model schoolboy and was never looked on as such, though the school course presented few difficulties to me. Nor can I assert that I, as a youth, found school work particularly inspiring. As in the case of my contemporaries, the urge towards liberty was very strong within me.

It was in after-life only that I recognized the great and permanent benefits we had to thank the school for. On that account, and in an age when there is so much confused thinking and so many false ideas are purposely encouraged, I feel the more impelled to do a service to the cause of truth by asserting that never in all my life have I met men more conscious nationally than those German Jesuits. Indeed, so much stress did they put on their nationality that I, as an Austrian, occasionally felt they were overdoing it.

No word of religious intolerance, no criticism of events and conditions in Germany ever fell from the lips of our educators. We were taught that Catholicism requires the extra-national outlook, but not the "international", as opposed to the patriotic. It was urged upon us that real Catholic sentiment is nowhere in conflict with a national manner of thought and, further, we Austrians were brought to understand that loyalty to the state and loyalty to the nationality ought to supplement each other.

More ridiculous still than the reproach, constantly brought against the Jesuits, of "internationalism" and a wholly anti-national system of education, is the attempt to interpret so-called Jesuit methods by the saying: "The end justifies the means."

Quite the reverse was constantly hammered into our minds. We learnt that the attainment of a presumed or really praiseworthy end in no circumstances justified a prevarication, and that one ought to forgo an end, even though worth attaining in itself, if it was only to be attained by untruth, injustice or the violation of conscience. Judged

from the standpoint of the agitator or political organizer such doctrines might appear of questionable value, but it is not to be disputed that they are sound ethically. I was taught them, I understood them to be right, and to the best of my knowledge and conscience I have always striven to model my practice upon them.

There is, in short, nothing particularly bizarre about the pupil of the Jesuits, though I am ready to admit that many who were of our set have followed a different path in life. But the Jesuits are not to be blamed for that, since they taught otherwise. The Fathers themselves would have attained many successes if they had deviated from their rules of ethics. But this they would not do, and in the long run the results of such an attitude are bound to be of higher value than one or other advantage gained through inconsistency.

Five hundred boys were living together at Feldkirch, in the conditions I have described, when war broke out. The school, besides being well known in Germany and Austria, enjoyed international repute. We had boys from all parts of the world, and I can remember French, Spanish, American and many Polish schoolmates. Moreover, in my own form there were Germans from the Volgaland. Far from hampering our patriotic education, as babblers and know-alls would be ready to assert, this national mixture worked in the reverse sense. All the pupils were imperceptibly influenced by the spirit of Austro-German culture, and such remained the case right up to the outbreak of the War, when, to be sure, only Austrians, Germans from the Reich and Swiss remained at the school.

As was to be expected, during the first year of the War we lived in a state of intense and uninterrupted excitement. Rivalries between Austrians and Germans which found expression from time to time in a too tumultuous patriotism were, with much patience and persistence, directed into quieter channels. Not a few of the members of the Society

were called up, and my recollection is that they served, without exception, in the German forces.

One incident continues in my memory. Towards Christmas, 1914, I summoned up courage and asked for permission to spend the holidays at home, mentioning my father's service at the front as the reason. But I was told (exceptions never being made at the school) to stay on quietly at Feldkirch, "as the War will be over next year and you will then be able to spend your Christmas vacation with your family".

Instead, I joined up as a volunteer on July 1, 1915, and four Christmasses at the front followed on the eight I had spent at school, away from home.

To join up was an outstanding event in our lives, and each of us took up arms with enthusiasm and from a deep sense of duty, though by this time the miseries and hardships of war had already lasted a year. Of course, no youth straight from school could be expected to know what war really was.

As I have mentioned, I was about to move up to the top class when war broke out, and so I lived through the opening months of hostilities as a schoolboy on holiday at Marburg, the chief town of South Styria,¹ where my father was in garrison.

These few months left a deep impression on me and were calculated to give me an insight into one of Austria's gravest difficulties. South Styria, an incomparably delightful country of sunshine, rich in fruit and colour, was one of the mixed-linguistic districts. The towns were for the most part German-speaking islets set in Slovenian peasant land. There in the summer months, particularly on Sundays when the traditional festivals were celebrated, singularly striking contrasts came to the surface. The very exterior of the towns bore witness to German industry and well-being and helped the intelligent inquirer to get an impression of many a national problem.

¹ Now called Maribor and belonging to Yugoslavia.

There were to be found Bismarck Squares or Bismarck Streets everywhere, while only here and there a monument to the Emperor Joseph¹ reminded one of Austrian history. The Emperor Joseph was still universally held in great esteem as the monarch of an age of enlightenment. Besides his monument one would be reminded of the House of Habsburg by one or another statue of Archduke John² who lived on in popular estimation as Regent of the German League and as a cordial friend of the peasants and mountaineers.

There would be a German club-house everywhere, serving as the headquarters of different national organizations, and generally a Slovenian club-house would stand opposite. Moreover, there would be in each of the large German frontier parishes a Protestant Church, which as likely as not had not been standing there for more than a generation.

The black, red and gold flag³ would dominate the scene whenever the Fire Brigade or Choral Society held their annual feast, the Austrian colours on these occasions generally being in the background. The "Watch on the Rhine" enjoyed great popularity as the anthem of defiant Teutons, the more so as its singing was supposed to create difficulties with the Austrian police authorities, though such was no longer the case in my time.

Before, and particularly during, the War the local newspapers just published about Austria what the authorities insisted on and nothing more. All this clearly indicated that down there, in the mixed-linguistic zone, the conflict of the nationalities was carried on at the cost of the Austrian imperial idea. To the black, red and gold of the Germans

¹ Joseph II, son of Empress Maria Theresa, Emperor from 1780 till 1790.

² Archduke John, Regent of the German League which preceded the Empire of 1870. (Translators' notes.)

³ Black, red and gold were the colours of the German Democratic movement during the nineteenth century. In Austria, Pan-Germanism used to oppose these colours to the black and yellow flag of the Habsburg Monarchy.

the Slavs opposed their blue, white and red, and both parties compromised on the legal black and yellow only when it was the Emperor's birthday or the district governor was expected.

The symbolic meaning of flags in Austria had always been a matter queer and complicated. As the black, red and gold had once been the colours of a German Reich in which Austria played the leading part, precisely this fact gave a deeper meaning to its display in our country. But most people were not aware of that and they waved the tricolour—black, red and gold—merely to prove their anti-Austrian, Pan-German zeal. This was done at a time when the Reich of the Hohenzollerns had for a long time adopted black, white and red as the imperial colours.

A similarly odd situation arose after the War. The German Republic, set up at Weimar, chose black, red and gold as the national flag, and consequently Austrian Pan-Germans displayed these colours wherever they could, although what they really wanted was not at all the democratic republic of Weimar but a system entirely different. Even nowadays black, red and gold is frequently used in Austria as a disguise for Pan-German tendencies, regardless of the fact that in Germany the Nationalist regime has scornfully abolished these colours as reminders of former democratic ideals.

Ever since the "Away from Rome" cry had been raised by Herr von Schoenerer,¹ the national conflict, especially in the mixed-linguistic areas, had also been fought out with violence in the religious field. It was a misfortune that the Catholic clergy in the German-speaking localities were gener-

¹ Georg von Schoenerer (1842-1921) had tried to prepare the union of Austria's German-speaking parts with the German Empire by propagating a mass-apostasy from the Catholic Church. This "Away from Rome movement", which about 1900 had a considerable number of followers, was mainly directed against the Habsburg dynasty, the influence of which was supposed to rely principally upon the Catholic Church and its hold on the population.

ally of non-German origin, German candidates for the priesthood being scarce. The Slovenian priests in the South Styrian German towns certainly purposed to speak, preach and pray in German, but, naturally enough, they could not forget their own tongue. In effect, some of them made very little effort to forget it. Notwithstanding those conditions, the vast majority of the Slovene clergy were perfectly loyal to Austria, but, nevertheless, a ban upon the political activity of priests might possibly have had happy results. Unfortunately there was never a question of that.

The tendency on the radical German-speaking side was to oppose a German popular religion to the "ultramontane", Catholic and "anti-German" forces, as those were often unscrupulously described. The Evangelical Church was at that time felt to provide some such popular religion, and it was hoped to defend with its help the German-speaking territory and to press back the Slovene influence. Thus the German extremists exploited Protestantism for their own political ends, a fact which must be set down bluntly in the interest of historical truth and which, indeed, is confirmed a hundredfold in Pan-German polemical literature of those days.

The assertion just made is by no means the outcome of any denominational bias in the consideration of religious problems. For more than a century all the churches had absolutely equal rights in Austria, and even the occupants of the very highest posts of the civil service and army were never asked whether they were Catholics or Protestants. Measures were never taken against even the political abuse of religion. The state looked on whilst the mixed-linguistic territories came to be regarded as political mission-fields to which pastors were drafted from Germany for the purpose of providing them with permanent domiciles in Austria. Wherever there were Austrian pastors, complaints of political difficulties were rare.

Although the rival camps confronted each other in the fashion just described, there is no question that right up to

the outbreak of the War the patriotic Austrian feeling was deeply rooted within the masses of the people and exercised among the nationalities an influence more potent than that of the anti-Austrian agitation carried on by bigoted nationalist "prophets" who had come, as often as not, from foreign countries.

But still, there were storm warnings which should not have been overlooked. In rabid German national circles Austria and the debt to her were discounted as far as possible, especially throughout the intelligentsia of the small country towns, while on the other side Pan-Slavism with its gymnastic societies and youth organizations got more and more support from Prague and made itself increasingly noticeable in Slovene circles.

Yet when war broke out there were only Austrians. In effect, people, even in the disputed border districts, would have been ill-advised to display an anti-Austrian attitude in the August days of 1914. I have a very clear recollection of the departure of the South Styrian troops for the front. According to his nationality each man wore either a black, red and gold or a blue, white and red ribbon in his button-hole or in his cap; yet the imperial black and yellow colours carried ahead of the marching regiment expressed the true spirit of the army.

Anybody who lived in our country could hardly fail to get the impression of the awakening of a nation, a nation positive and united in its patriotic feelings. Enthusiasm was real. The War was regarded as just and necessary. Everybody was ready to admit that the prestige of the Monarchy was at stake and that her influence would be seriously impaired even at home, if what was universally felt to be a challenge were answered with another surrender and another diplomatic retreat. Popular sentiment and the general atmosphere were then directly opposed to a higher political wisdom, though what that wisdom should have consisted of, it was left to History to reveal.

And so destiny took its course, whilst I, an Austrian youth who had reached military age, supposed myself to be the witness of my country's rebirth. Thank God, I did not realize what was the tragic path in front of me. The world caught its breath and only a handful of people knew what was at stake. Thus has it ever been, thus it will be to the end. Whoever, hypocritically, clamours for the culprits, is himself generally ready to shoulder the same guilt. Who actually opened the account, and for which ends the price was paid in blood by a whole generation, are questions that lose their importance once the balance of profit and loss is struck. What cannot be changed is the ebb and flow of national destiny, history's repetitions, the fact that the many must pay for the tragic mistakes of the few at decisive moments. And there is the further consideration that the mechanism of destruction invariably forges ahead of the constructive purposes of mankind, purposes whose fulfilment is too frequently hindered by barren debates. For years on end the techniques of armaments will provide thousands of people with their livelihood and will even seem to make a whole nation prosperous, and then it will let destruction loose upon the next generation.

In the matter of my own war experiences I have nothing outstanding to describe. My adventures and hardships were those of innumerable other young men who found it a natural thing that they should go to the front. To-day I still hold the opinion that war experience provides an essential background for the political evolution of any man who in 1914-18 was physically fit and of military age. It may well have been that the young man with no responsibilities and nothing to lose saw things differently from the youth snatched by the War from home and career.

Beyond the naval port of Pola I got to know only the Italian front, namely the part between Gorizia and the sea known as the Carso sector. With the exception of a spell

of leave granted me in connection with my studies in the early summer of 1918, I was in all the fighting on that front, from May 1916 to the end of the War, beginning with the sixth Isonzo battle. Doberdo, Monte San Michele, Jamiano and Hermada have become for me vivid unfading memories. Just as elsewhere in the Austro-Hungarian army, so, too, in my battery the men of the different nationalities got on well together, no noticeable friction occurring before the spring of 1918, and nowhere was there a clash of political or religious creeds. I believed with many others that the same spirit of union would continue. This was a mistake on my part, unfortunately so, as otherwise the War would have had a deep meaning for us, despite its calamitous end.

I recall clearly how something like a tremor passed through groups of our non-commissioned officers when they learnt the news of the Russian Revolution and grasped what it meant. Many a man grew reflective about this time, and in the quiet hours gave voice unchecked to a craving for peace. Discipline, however, did not suffer, and for a long time there was no alarming sign that the agitation in the rear of the armies was spreading to the front. But whoever possessed keen ears was able now and then to catch up a significant remark or other, whispered during talks arising out of the assassination of the Prime Minister, Count Stuerghk, at the hand of Frederick Adler in the autumn of 1916.

Naturally enough, peace talk was readily listened to. The young Emperor was undoubtedly popular with the troops at the front, and it was in the rear that his reputation was blasted, knowledge of the fact, like many another misfortune, reaching the trenches by way of the justly detested bases. Confidence in the Fatherland persisted until just before the end of the War, notwithstanding many a danger warning and the growing anxiety over the want and misery of people at home.

MY COUNTRY ON THE EVE OF WAR

The end in November 1918, more particularly in the neighbourhood where I was—the middle Piave—must always remain an indelible memory. Without any noticeable pressure by the enemy the disintegration of the army set in quite clearly in the last October days. The withdrawal of mutinous regiments caused gaps in the front. Now and then reserves that had been called for refused to obey orders. At Sacile, towards six o'clock one morning, just before the guns were got ready for action, my own battery was called out and the officers had to ask the men whether they were ready to go on fighting or not and whether they wanted a Monarchy or a Republic. From that moment we were seized by a feeling of taciturn resignation. Everyone experienced the gloomy certitude that everything was lost. It was All Souls' Eve, 1918.

A few days afterwards came news of the armistice, news received with relief by us all. Then there was the rounding up of prisoners, something quite incomprehensible to us all, for we had assumed the armistice to be a fact.¹

We were ordered to move on in marching kit to the bridge over the Tagliamento at Dignano, and when we got near to it Scots infantry unexpectedly ordered us to disarm. We obeyed, but it will not cause astonishment when I say the incident long left a nasty aftertaste.

When, in distress, we sought an explanation for this, the story got about that the Emperor and the Government had purposely tricked us by prematurely announcing an armistice in order to prevent the troops returning home. It was not until long after, that the veil was lifted from the tragic mistake with its disastrous consequences for tens of thousands. What really happened in these days no one will completely understand, but as one recognizes when one

¹ Although the armistice treaty signed between the Italian and the Austrian army commands established that hostilities should cease after a delay of twenty-four hours, the Austrian troops, by mistake, received orders to lay down their weapons immediately.

looks back across the years, our personal fate was not of great matter in view of the universal catastrophe.

Anyhow, on November 4th, two thousand officers, with an escort of British troops, began a march inland towards Treviso which was to last for days. Physical discomforts were insignificant compared with the anguish of the Austrian who, on his way to the prison camp, slowly began to apprehend that he had a country no longer.

When after anxious weeks the first news came from home and there was a muster of prisoners, it was realized that the Austro-Hungarian army had ceased to exist in the prison camp as well. The German Austrians and the Hungarians had retained their uniforms, whereas members of the other nationalities, though not all of them, had substituted favours in their national colours for the imperial cockade in their caps.

We had almost a year to ponder our future, and in the meantime Austria was carried to the grave while the world looked on indifferent and unsympathetic as the funeral procession passed. But even from home, where desperate want had obliterated every trace of reason, we heard no other voices than those crying: "Peace at last!" We saw, without understanding it, how the new epoch watched with relief the internment of the Fatherland.

In my diary at that time I wrote: "Why did Austria die? Only later will it be possible to name, by means of a careful historical inquiry, the many forces which for decades were sapping and destroying her life. At present we think it was a matter of weakness of will." Bitterness certainly accounts for such an opinion, which was extremely unjust, and yet it contained a particle of truth.

Until shortly before the fatal hour the army was the living embodiment of Austria. It is a fact that a happy or even a less unhappy outcome of the War could have kept Austria alive in a new form. Unquestionably the evolution of Austrian domestic politics must have paralysed the faculty

MY COUNTRY ON THE EVE OF WAR

of the state to survive defeat, and finally hunger and want played their part. But there is no doubt that only after we have lost her altogether have we been able to realize what Austria meant for us, for the German people and for the world.

CHAPTER THREE

REVOLUTION

WHILST the Austro-Hungarian troops were still at the front and fighting, the die had been cast in the capitals of the Central Powers.

In effect, there had been no Austria-Hungary since the last week of October 1918, and they who stood under her colours were fighting for a shadow, though they knew it not. The iron curtain of History had been rung down—a tragedy was over!

With violent and senseless hammer strokes the ingenious creative work of centuries, which had gone into the making of the Dual Monarchy, had been shattered within the space of a few days. Out of blood and fire, misery and the pangs of hunger, a lamentable peace had been born, and with this peace the new Austria underwent her labour-pains.

There is no use to-day in criticizing those events. Bitter and shameful as many of their details were, at any rate it must be recognized that Austria was spared the flames of civil war with all its incalculable consequences and new sacrifices in blood.

We need not go into the question of responsibility here. Greater insight on the part of the victors could, it is certain, have laid the foundations of a better peace; that is, a better peace from everybody's point of view. The hecatombs of victims, the price paid by all the participants of the War, the destruction of so much that was culturally or economically



E.N.A.

DR. KARL RENNER



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DR. OTTO BAUER

irreparable, more than anything the idealistic programme of the victors, as outlined for an attentive world in Wilson's fourteen points, all this called aloud for the removal of the grounds and occasions of conflict. Instead, an order of things was finally established which has led, only fifteen years later, to another impending European crisis.

For a just peace two conditions would have been required: firstly, the victors should have realized that the German people's deprivation of rights and their condemnation to permanent disarmament must produce—and within a calculable period—fresh explosions; and, more important still, there should have been judicious and just treatment of all the issues involved in winding up the old Monarchy. In this respect a little geographical and ethnological knowledge, and a slight acquaintance with history, would have prevented many an ill; whereas an intensity of destructive purpose produced a field of ruins which was not the more reasonable, because its inhabitants, intoxicated by excitement and in a state of complete exhaustion, carried self-laceration to the extreme.

The unprecedented waste of energy and nervous force coupled with the over-organization of the War gave way abruptly to an undisciplined release from all restraint. Thus the storm of the initial weeks of the revolution swept over ill-fated Austria like a wild spook. People's only desire was to get food at once.

About this time there occurred a hunt for the culprits who could be sent into the wilderness, and from the psychological standpoint this is comprehensible and is a characteristic of every revolution. Later on, the leaders tried to take the wind out of the extremists' sail by compromising with the undiscerning masses, although these masses were inclined to follow the noisiest, most unrestrained and most brutal agitators; as they usually do.

"Liberty", "self-determination", "social advancement", the overcoming of the "political and social

dungeons " to which the peoples of Europe were said to have been condemned, "economic reconstruction"—such were the slogans of those days. Bewildered, terrified, dispersed and starved out, the former upholders of the state, the exponents of moderate-minded Conservatism, the guardians of traditions and old practices, the adherents of the ancient regime seemed to have vanished. It is vain to ask whether that was necessary and unavoidable—it was a fact.

The Emperor was regarded as the culprit *par excellence*. He could not defend himself, and he was to learn how a pitiless "Crucify him!" could follow within two years of his being met with cries of "Hosanna!" Certainly the favour of the people is fickle. And so it came about that the man who personified the monarchical idea and the Monarchy as a form of government were the first victims.

No ruler has experienced a fate so ill as that which befell the Emperor Charles. It was his tragic lot to find himself put into a position, which, judged by human standards, was no longer to be defended. He accepted his fate with dignity, and the way he bore himself in a crucial test did him honour as man and Habsburg. Whether he was a great monarch, was wisely advised at all times, did the right thing always, is not the question here. To recognize that he was thoroughly good, brave, honest and a true Austrian who wanted the best, and in misfortune bore himself more worthily than many other men would have done, is to assert the truth—and this truth has been suppressed far too long.

Charles was not the traitor or the coward persistently represented by a transparent political propaganda. He was certainly not the superhuman personality, either, which excessive zeal tried to make out of him. It was altogether right that he should strive for peace at the appropriate moment, for peace was a well-recognized interest not only of his own country but of the German people. His methods may perhaps have been inadequate and his path mistaken, yet it is not to be gainsaid that in the year 1917 the last oppor-

tunity seemed to have come for obtaining an honourable peace for the Central Powers. Had the Emperor then succeeded in bringing such a peace about, the deceptive intoxication of freedom would have been spared us, and probably endless sacrifices and misery as well.

That the Emperor should have remained on in the country after the revolution as long as it was possible showed that he felt united to his people by reason of his good conscience and by what he owed his own name.

Already on October 21, 1918, the National Assembly of the Austro-German deputies met in Vienna, members returned at the elections for the Reichstat (Parliament) held in 1911 coming together in the debating chamber of the Lower Austrian Diet on the Herrengasse. There, in accordance with the imperial manifesto, and following the example of the other nationalities, they constituted themselves a National Assembly.

Of the 232 seats (including those of the Sudetic Germans), 102 were held by the Union of German National Parties, 72 by the Christian Social (Catholic) Party, and only 42 by the Socialists. At this first sitting Dr. Waldner, the acting president, said optimistically that nothing could now stand in the way of the well-being and unity of the German people in Austria, "since the national spirit and the spirit of the people, the well-being of the state and the welfare of the people will all be fused together in the new state, where, moreover, German particularism, the source of every past division, will vanish and never be heard of again".

Dr. Victor Adler, the veteran of the Socialists, answered him thus: "We come to meet you here, but we come as Socialists, with our flags flying." Victor Adler, then in the last weeks of his life, went on to discuss the two possibilities of Austria's future:

"Austria should unite with the neighbouring countries in a free league of nations, if the other peoples are ready. Should the others reject this idea or lay down conditions

which do not take note of the economic and national needs of our country, then the Austrian state (which left to itself has no prospect of expanding economically) will be forced to join the German Reich as an additional federal state. For German-Austria we demand entire liberty to choose between these two possible associations. German-Austria must in any case be a democratic and genuine people's state."

The question of Austria's future constitution was not raised.

In the name of the Union of German National Parties Dr. Steinwender made the following declaration: "The force of events has brought the old state to an end. We Germans, without dissension, take our stand upon the platform of independence. We keep unsullied, thereby, our love of our country and remain convinced supporters of the constitutional and monarchical form of government. Inspired by the ideal of the close union of all Germans, the German-Austrian state will settle its relations with the German Reich and with the other neighbouring countries by the unfettered exercise of its sovereign rights. . . ."

The provincial governor of the Tyrol, Mr. Schraffl, speaking on behalf of the Christian Social (Catholic) Party, stressed their adhesion to the monarchical form of government as a principle, and expressed the wish for the speedy democratization of German-Austria. This is how he ended his speech: "Do not forget the Germans of the South! Help the Tyroleans in the present emergency of Reich and nation!"

All that was on October 21, 1918.

But as early as October 30, at the second meeting of the Provisional National Assembly, the Socialist member, Dr. Ellenbogen, announced that "the Socialists regard the establishment of a Republic as the people's only safeguard against dynastic and other pretensions".

The stenographic report mentions loud and prolonged cheers and handclapping as well as shouts of "Long live the Republic!"

The Provisional National Assembly, at this sitting, elected from their midst an executive committee, called the Council of State, which consisted of the three party chairmen—Dinghofer (Nationalist), Fink (Catholic), and Seitz (Socialist)—and twenty other members.

For its part, the Council of State designated as its representatives the State Government, each of whose members received the title of State Secretary.

That was what happened within the Parliament. Meanwhile the fire of revolution had been stoked up by the press and at public meetings, and no one resisted the radicalization of the streets. The enactment of unrestricted liberty of the press was one of the first acquisitions of the new epoch, that liberty of which Goethe once remarked: "What have the Germans got with their delightful press freedom, save that everyone says things as base and vile as he likes about everyone else?"

By these means every violent instinct was gradually aroused and every restraint relaxed. The mobilization of the street had begun.

At that time and later there was much talk of the "will of the working class". Let it be said at once that what took place in the year 1918 was at first not the doing of the workers. On the contrary, the workers have always realized that order and law generally guarantee them their jobs. While many grounds for dissatisfaction admittedly existed—the food shortage ought to be specially mentioned—things would certainly have taken a different course had the workers, through real labour leaders chosen from among themselves, taken charge of the situation. But as it happened, the control passed into the hands of a Socialist intelligentsia who wanted to mobilize the masses at all costs and wherever they could get them, in order to lay the foundations for permanent Socialist domination, particularly in Vienna.

In the first days of the collapse unruly and hungry

soldiers, then demobilized, and the mob of the towns were the elements most reliable from the Socialist standpoint, and round them tens of thousands of industrious folk gathered in good faith, convinced that the Promised Land their leaders spoke of was at hand. Nearly everyone else stood aside, helpless and intimidated.

Among the Socialist leaders there existed a dangerous anxiety to prevent, by the display of truculent radicalism, a split in the party ranks, thus preserving a united Socialist front in Austria. In this way the seed was sown for the country's subsequent political evolution. In due course there grew up in Austrian Socialism two types of leaders, the moderates and the extremists, and in decisive moments agreements were usually come to on lines advocated by the latter. Although at first this had the advantage of preventing the growth of Communism or the formation of a Spartacus group,¹ afterwards the price had to be paid in the truculence of the movement which became known as Austro-Marxism.

In the course of history revolutions and upheavals, with their standardized forms and atmosphere of violence, regularly recur, and Goethe clearly perceived the eternal repetitions in history when he addressed the prophets of mob rule thus:

"Heroes have often vanished,
But who will protect the masses
Against the masses?
The Mass has become the masses' oppressor!"

Concerning the overrating of the majority, Goethe displayed his scepticism in a conversation with his secretary, Eckermann, in this fashion: "All that is great and wise is to be found among the minority; discernment will always be the exclusive gift of the superior few. Nothing is more repugnant than the majority, since it consists of few vigorous ringleaders, of knaves who accommodate themselves to cir-

¹ Spartacus, leader of a slave revolt 72 B.C. In 1918 the German Radical Communists took his name for their title (Spartakisten-Bewegung).

cumstances, of the weak who allow themselves to be assimilated and of the crowd which runs after, without in the least knowing what they want."

To Austria's extremists, the Socialist ascendancy of Germany by Ebert and Scheidemann appeared to be an ideal picture, and they called loudly for "Anschluss" (union) with the Reich. On November 2, 1918, Vienna's leading Socialist daily, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, printed an editorial with the caption "The Party Congress", referring to a speech by Dr. Otto Bauer¹ in which he had said: "German-Austria cannot exist by itself. It may live on as part of a federation but not otherwise, for its territory is not self-contained and is too small for its large industry. That is why we must claim the right to seek for union there where we can find it, where we belong by nature, from where we were ingeniously divided some two hundred years ago—to seek for union with the German Reich."

On November 3, 1918, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* elaborated this point of view in an article headed, "The Military Monarchy Ends", in which it made a violent onslaught upon the monarchical system. "So that is the end of the War started by Austria-Hungary out of arrogance!" it wrote. "That is the end of the Monarchy, a shameful end, yet one in keeping with its history and thoroughly deserved!"

With increasing violence the overthrow of the Monarchy was thus clamoured for, and as regards these two points of their programme the Socialists first got their way. Motions declaring for union with Germany and also for the establishment of a Republic were adopted by the National Assembly. Shouts of "They are firing at us from the street!" interrupted this decisive session, the official stenographer records.

The deputy Miklas, now the President of the Austrian Federation, alone found words of courage to question the power of the National Assembly to decide so fundamental

¹ Dr. Otto Bauer was the most radical leader of Austrian Socialists. He fled to Czechoslovakia when the Socialist revolt in February 1934 failed.

an issue as Austria's new constitution. But simultaneously the red flag was run up outside Parliament, replacing the red, white and red of the state, which was cut to pieces by demonstrators.

Thus the Republic had been set up.

It is beyond dispute that together with the catastrophic atmosphere of the time, Socialist influences accounted for the young Republic, and that the idea of "Anschluss", put forward with such boisterousness, came also from Socialist quarters. Not national considerations but ambitions to establish a huge German, republican and socialist block were determining their attitude.

To make the new era palatable to the Austrian people, who, beyond the boundaries of Vienna, scarcely took any part in events and did not even grasp what was taking place, the Socialists—and here lay the tragic responsibility which they rued bitterly in the year 1934—began to besmirch the very conception of old Austria.

Everything that recalled Austria, her history or her symbols, was persecuted with demonic hatred. With inexorable consistency the agitators overwhelmed dynasty, army—above all, the high command and corps of officers—with outrageous abuse. Where it was possible to do so at all, the idea of Austria, the idea of patriotism, were snatched from the hearts of school children. For all the ideals that young people had hitherto found noble and sacred there was now nothing but derision and ridicule, and every attempt was made to efface the very memory of them.

Over and beyond that—and here we come to the most absurd and most exasperating aspect of the Socialist campaign—there was the attempt to saddle Austria with the exclusive responsibility for the War; so that the enemy was able to call Austrian witnesses when the theory of the War-guilt of the Central Powers was required to justify their peace dictates.

At this time and afterwards the tone of political controversy was such that the indignation of those who saw their

ideals persistently degraded spontaneously grew into effervescence. So the ground was prepared for the conflicts to come later.

To be sure, no virile people will allow its land, home and symbols to be everlastingly insulted, repudiated and destroyed, and that often by people who had settled in Austria from outside. After all, this work of disintegration was carried on for no other purpose than to increase the slogans at the service of a political party.

In an editorial of November 5, 1918, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* wrote that "of the fifty-five million people who were condemned to form the grandeur of the Habsburgs, thirty-five millions, at least, wanted the defeat of Austria-Hungary and placed their hopes in the victory of the Entente. A state," it went on ironically, "in which the overwhelming majority want to have nothing to do with it, actually hate and abhor it—that this state should be able to endure! Moreover, this state had the criminal audacity to start a war. Modesty is the least that one might look for from such a state, yet it was arrogant enough to launch a World War! This was a challenge to fate, and fate now strikes back with an inexorability that is deserved."

This passage was written eight days before the armistice!

Again, the Socialist Karl Leuthner wrote in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* of November 17, 1918: "You see them crowding together, the court parasites, the high officers and officials of the entire one-time Reich, like vermin scenting a wound. The counter-revolutionary material of an entire great power is concentrated in our diminutive land. At present these counter-revolutionary forces bow before the storm of the revolution, but they are crouched in ambush, ready to jump, should momentary hesitations of the people tempt them. The apartment of a fallen prince, be it ever so small, is a court—and what has a court to do in a Republic? In a Republic, moreover, *whose citizens are so lukewarm, who accept the Republic under compulsion only*. Who would not

be ready to pay a reasonable sum in order to get rid of our beloved dynasty?"

A week later the editorial writer of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* deplored the "Republic without republicans" and demanded that the unintellectual swamp should be drained, the refuse of the past got rid of and a settlement reached with all the elements of monarchist corruption.

Another editorial, of November 26, is addressed to "the guilty parties", the writer saying: "What an infamous exploit it was on the part of a country such as Austria to let loose a World War for the sake of her own miserable existence which had exasperated the world! A couple of conscienceless rascals—a Berchtold and two or three of his abettors, Hoetzendorf, Stürgkh, and Tisza—had all power in their hands and were able to unchain this wanton war of bravado which plunged mankind into inutterable grief and misery. The moral abhorrence of the universe must strike these wretches who conspired against the peace of the world."

Of the "leaders who made off", this newspaper wrote in the same issue: "Are we to wonder at the moral rottenness and decadence displayed in the War by our former corps of officers? Austro-Hungarian officers lacked everything that helps men to rise above their lowest instincts. Neither the idea of a country, nor a unity of culture and language—not even the sentiment of freedom or any great tradition of victory—united these officers. They were merely in the service of their employer, real mercenaries by outlook and morals."

Still more significant was an editorial headed "Not heroes but martyrs", which appeared on December 4, 1918. "We deplore," said the writer, "the irreparable losses and devastations of the War, we who stand amid the ruins of the Monarchy, whose heirs, worthy of commiseration, we are. Yet its outcome, so far as it means the downfall of the Empire, gives us pleasure and we estimate the collapse of the Habsburg Reich as the only compensation for all we under-

went, suffered and lost. The mere thought that the walls and chains of the people's prison—the Empire of the Habsburgs—might still persist, despite four years of mass slaughter, affronts our deepest feelings as being an insult to the law of nature. For the peoples of Austria-Hungary—for them all—nothing could have been better or more desirable than that the Monarchy, swiftly overwhelmed, had been destroyed in the first year of the War and that the nations, without having to shed their blood in torrents and suffer economic ruin, should have shaken off the yoke of the Habsburgs which forced them together in so unnatural a fashion. Victories merely postponed the hour of deliverance for the peoples of Austria, prolonged their period of oppression and added to their griefs and hardships.”

It goes without saying that propaganda of this sort was aimed also at the Church, her institutions and her ministers, and that in the end it came to regard nothing as sacred. In view of the fact that peace negotiations were about to begin and that national unity was more essential than ever, the unscrupulousness of such pathological excesses of hate can only be appreciated fully when studied in retrospect. The old French saying, “It is worse than a crime, it is a blunder”, suggests itself in this connection.

As a result of this kind of agitation, unity among the people was out of the question for a long time. The agitators short-sightedly forgot that a harvest of violence would one day ripen from their sowing.

To anyone who knew Austria intimately, it must have been clear that all these undignified contradictions must one day bring their own punishment. The hour had to come, inevitably, when everyone would recognize the outrage of trifling with sacred values and ideas in order to obtain temporary political advantages. For, after all, that was what the Socialists had done.

The hour had to come when it would be plain that the revolution had not given workers, peasants and soldiers

what had been promised them. The country's power of resistance to crises and its economic structure were alike undermined, and after a relatively short time growing unemployment was the inevitable upshot, and young people, when they went into the world, found themselves before closed factory gates.

On the other hand, no one can deny that a great deal of good was achieved. The extension of social legislation deserves praise, though, apart from unemployment benefits, the new system of social insurance was increasingly unable to meet the demands put upon it. Big business was by no means destroyed by revolutionary legislation. Actually, the reverse was the case, for it flourished as scarcely ever before, since in the quagmire of inflation speculation and inordinate desire for profits expanded.

The social order of other days was overthrown, including much that was rotten over which no tears need be shed. Yet some of the new business magnates in their private and commercial activities behaved far more scandalously than was ever the case before. Sovereignty of the people had succeeded to the sovereignty of the Monarch; this would have been all right if such sovereignty had existed in fact as well as on paper. There were no Privy Councillors of the Emperor any more, but often enough there was a cabal pulling the strings, without the representatives of the people, whose political credit was at stake, being aware of it or being even able to perceive it. Scarcely anything more had taken place than a change in labels. Instead of the political aristocrats there appeared the political bosses who were soon as unpopular.

The broad middle-class who had for their part once been the source of work and profits to thousands were broken on the wheel. The little man suffered more than anybody under the unkindness of the hour, and the most eloquent political oration or editorial in a revolutionary Socialist paper could not change the fact that his savings and the

REVOLUTION

prospect of security in old age had gone for good.

And wordy warfare as to who were the responsible parties would break out again and again. Each party blamed the other, while new election struggles waged under new slogans showed that substantially nothing had changed.

All this one must have lived through, must have understood, not only to realize how the new Austria came into being, but also to know why there has since come a reaction against the enormities characterizing the revolutionary period. Out of the age of revolution there grew slowly and surely, in the course of fifteen stern years, the age of despair.

Now only did we recognize what we had lost when our country collapsed. The time was long, but then the scales did fall from people's eyes. There came sober thought, righteous judgment—and nostalgia. And thus we found our way back to Austria.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE FIRST EPOCH OF REVOLUTIONARY AUSTRIA

I RETURNED home from captivity in the autumn of 1919. It was a dismal homecoming.

Although I was overjoyed that the end had come to an imprisonment the senselessness of which I doubly felt in view of the War's end, and although my heart beat rapidly at the prospect of seeing home once more, the sense of dejection aroused in my mind by what I encountered everywhere was deep indeed.

Where was my country? Did she exist at all? Did there survive anything that, transcending the narrow meaning of home, was capable of appealing to the mind and heart? Even sober reason, which accepted the new state as a necessary element of order and guarantee of regulated intercourse of men, was confronted by a hundred unsolved problems. All around there was dissolution. The state appeared to have lost all meaning and was only felt as the expression of constraint, with all its unwelcome consequences.

Every reminder of other days was sternly proscribed. An absurd iconoclasm, a state of mind which did not stop short even of inscriptions as harmless as street-names, did they recall historical characters or events, best characterized the confusion of minds which then prevailed. Any impulse of patriotism was alien to the spirit of the hour and was rejected off-hand as the embodiment of reactionary opinions.

Many among us were too poor to get civilian clothes,

THE FIRST EPOCH OF REVOLUTIONARY AUSTRIA

and so we had to go on wearing our uniforms. But woe betide him who dared to wear his officer's distinctions or even war decorations. No one was allowed to lift himself, no matter how slightly, above anybody else. It was the typical revolutionary age, when to excel was an offence.

It was supposed then that the deification of Liberty and Equality must be characteristic of any real revolution—anyhow, so it was taught in books and descriptions of the French Revolution. But at the same time the general atmosphere existing when the Austria of the debacle had to make her first tentative steps, was far from being truly demonic and elemental; it seemed a commonplace, dull and superficial copy, made to fit a lamentably miserable epoch.

Sometimes it would happen that the question of one's war-service would crop up. Whoever raised it with the authorities had to reckon with being called a fool.

"Why were you so silly as to join up?" I was asked this question when I came before a demobilization board and was unwise enough to ask for compensation for some articles that had been lost.

The "Medal for Bravery" was watched out for especially carefully at that time, and it was so long jeered at as a piece of tin that men, returning from the front, were really persuaded to think, although for a short time only, that wearing it was a degradation. Still more was the wearing of the imperial cockade in the cap treated as a demonstration against the state. Indeed, any reminder of the old times was feared as the plague.

All that would not have been so bad, for after all every revolution must have its growing pains; but what did cause deep distress was that want of convictions and villainy itself had become the fashion in so many cases. Fortunately the years pass by and the lapse of time dims the memory, as otherwise many a man who nowadays wallows in patriotism and displays an exaggerated national zeal, perhaps even

wears the crown of the Legitimists¹ in his button-hole (not finding red, white and red Austrian enough), might feel ashamed of his own shadow—that is if he possess any sense of shame at all.

There were others—and they have not changed since—who found out with surprising rapidity that service to Emperor and country had been the fatal blunder of their lives and in conflict with their so suddenly discovered national feelings. In those days, it is true, not much moral courage was required to hold your head up before a prince.

Yet, notwithstanding all these bitter memories, one thing in justice should not be lost sight of: there really was definite want in the land, and want and hunger deprive people of their senses.

Naturally enough the new leaders were not able to conjure up a heaven on earth. Food-credits and relief organizations—the Americans, Swiss, Swedes, Dutch and Belgians ought to be remembered gratefully in this connection—were a barrier indeed against starvation, but during nearly two anxious years there was just a little too much for people to die, and not enough to live on, in our Austria. It was not astonishing that there should have been in this air laden with the possibilities of explosion an uncurbed agitation recalling the craziest periods of radicalism.

That was the time when the individual did not count and the organization was everything. More and more did politicians seek to pander to the masses. Fear of the masses was in the ascendant, the mobilization and the terror of the street had become the final and conclusive argument.

The industrial workers were not to be blamed for becoming in special measure victims of mass psychosis. For them, as for the peasants, the organization, in the one case the trade union, in the other the peasants' union, was the

¹ Members of the Habsburg Legitimist movement to-day wear a tiny imperial crown in their button-holes. (*Translators' note.*)

surest safeguard and the base from which they set out to win more rights still. Obviously it was not so much the rank and file of the movement as the leaders who really counted.

Let me admit in this place that there were many experienced and efficient trade union leaders in Austria then. Disaster only set in when the political leaders outvoiced the trade unionists, who, as a rule, were men of soberer and more practical outlook.

As was to be expected, Socialism, and with it the trade unions, attached most importance to Vienna, the only big city of new Austria, and from the capital the attempt was made in increasing measure to centralize the movement, and by means of standardized party cries to get control of the entire country.

It was otherwise with the peasants' organizations. With them the federal tendencies were much in the ascendant, and hence their political power was firmly rooted in the provinces. Wise and moderate leadership all the time not only brought about a planned, agrarian reconstruction, but in the political field put up an offensive resistance to the forces of Socialism, then surging forward impetuously.

In this manner these two political forces substantially counterbalanced during the first few years of the new Austria. Looked at retrospectively, this must no doubt be regarded as an advantage, because in all the excesses of a "left" nature that were perpetrated, an over-violent swing of the political pendulum in one direction, with all the convulsions which must have resulted from it, was for a long time averted. There was, to be sure, this disadvantage—that a sort of trench warfare set in, with the fronts becoming rigid, thereby preventing a really enterprising leadership from carrying anything through.

The most urgent problem facing the government was to assure the feeding of the population. A violent controversy raged round the abolishment of state food subsidies. Just

as it was difficult to push through in this field reforms which, of necessity, were bound to result in a further lowering of the standard of living, so, on the other hand, the problem of the continuous depreciation of the currency, which threatened to sink into the ocean of inflation, was a pressing one. That was the time, to-day incredible, when the value of money depreciated overnight, when a tram ticket would first cost a thousand kronen and soon after, ten thousand, when the starting wage of an auxiliary worker ran into millions.

Problems arising out of succession to the Monarchy played an important part in all this. Countless people must have felt it as a deep injustice that their hardly saved pennies, as well as the money they had invested in securities, should appear all at once to be confiscated through inflation. The problem of the small investor arose in this way. A similar fate befell the army of former pensioners. They all appealed to fairness and justice. They all felt it as a derision that they should receive the new paper krone instead of the gold krone, and in fact justice and equity were on their side, and their allegation of legal robbery against the state was quite comprehensible.

As against that, the judicious person clearly recognized the limitations of the financial capacity of the new state, on which indeed the burdens of succession were imposed without any equivalent assets being placed at its disposal for meeting them. Through the so-called optant's regulations Austria was required to recognize as her citizens optants who decided for Austria, and that meant a substantial additional burden for the Republic. The army of the dispossessed who had recourse to the most heterogeneous organizations, putting forward their claims in forms more and more violent, helped to increase the dissatisfaction in the country and to keep people, anxious on other grounds, in a state of constant bitterness.

Side by side with a situation at home the reverse of

encouraging, the position as regards foreign politics was positively hopeless. With each of her neighbours Austria had some account or other to settle, either as regards the question of minorities or because territorial dismemberment had set up fresh sores in the country's mutilated frame. To that had to be added economic dismemberment, which tore asunder what had grown organically, and, further, there was the effort to make still more precarious, by the erection of customs walls, the already straitened existence of the Austrian state.

Shortly after the War, Austria's relations with the victor states were somewhat strained, while as to the former neutrals, they were but little concerned with a country which was now so uninteresting. Thus Austria became the object of assistance by the charitable, which to recall with thankfulness remains our obvious duty. Beyond that Austria found herself more and more cast for the part of the international beggar—unjustly, to be sure, as those who had converted a flourishing land full of vitality into a cripple should also have assumed responsibility for giving her a chance to exist.

Then there was the German Reich with which Austria felt herself united by the bond of tongue and with which, moreover, she had passed through the tragedy of a common fate. Germany was still better off than Austria, thanks to the size of her territory and her natural riches, but the convulsions to which the Reich was exposed at home, and the somewhat unclear position prevailing in various extremely important parts of her territory, did not in any case conduce to an attempt to establish, over and above the natural partnership in fate, bonds of a constitutional character. Such bonds could have brought advantage neither to the Germans nor to us; from the standpoint of the German race as a whole, they were not of decisive importance either, quite apart from the fact that the constitutional structure of the two states differed fundamentally already at that

period. Finally, the international situation forbade any radical changes.

Thus we had to bear the burden of the lost War—a burden which was heavy enough in all conscience, whilst as far as human vision could foresee, an improvement seemed out of the question.

I had not a great deal of time for reflection. After the leave of a few weeks granted me in the last year of the War for purposes of study, I had two years only in which to complete my academic career. I took my degree in law at Innsbruck University and, incidentally, followed the matriculation course at the Academy of Commerce, so as to equip myself in every way for an economic career.

In the summer of 1921 I finished my examinations, by which time no real choice of a career existed for a young man in Austria. Each one had to see to it that he got on his own feet as quickly as possible to earn the minimum necessary to keep body and soul together.

At that time I did not interest myself very much in politics, even though the questions of organization attracted me greatly. A profound aversion for the political machine and unbounded pessimism characterized my state of mind at that period. Around us there was no sign of authority, yet authority and leadership are just what youth have always craved for.

What took place, then, in Vienna seemed to us outside in the provinces entirely uninteresting. Indeed, it may have been that our view of the work of some of the men who, by the exertion of all their power, strove to prevent still worse from happening, was somewhat unjust at first.

It was in this time of complete poverty of ideas and lack of ideals that the noted plebiscites upon union with Germany were held in different parts of Austria. Obviously, what took place in 1921 ought not to be used as a political argument subsequently, not only because of the way these plebiscites were organized—and after all that is a matter of great

importance—but also because this political movement, which sprang from a private initiative, should not be treated as something isolated. To the Socialist “union” slogan in the year 1918, comprehensible only from the exclusive party standpoint, was now opposed a national avowal, in the course of which an impassioned protest was made against the War-guilt lie and the whole mentality of the revolutionary period.

With abundant subsidies from the Reich a daily newspaper called *Alpenland* was founded about this time at Innsbruck with Herr Gilbert In der Mauer¹ as editor. We came across the editor of this rigidly anti-clerical newspaper later on, in the capacity of a regular correspondent of the Centre (Catholic) *Germania* of Berlin. He was originally a major of dragoons in the Austro-Hungarian army.

I know something about the plebiscite in the Tyrol on the “union” issue as I was a counter on that occasion. Its political significance was doubtless considerable at the time, as the leaders of the state were then furnished with arguments of which they made effective use in due course.

A state without the ideal of patriotism and the definite will to exist is, in effect, not conceivable in the long run. As Austria was then, her purpose was no longer to be recognized and in no event could she have been able to fulfil her historic task. A summoner had to appear to arouse new life in Austria, to revive the idea of Austria—and had to accomplish this task notwithstanding the state of affairs at home, the calamities of the hour, the wrangling of parties, the dire necessity of the land, the threatening Bolshevism, the desperate, hopeless inertia of nearly all classes of the population, notwithstanding despair of Austria herself.

This deliverer was Seipel.

¹ Later on Gilbert In der Mauer became known as one of the leaders of National Socialist agitation in Austria.

CHAPTER FIVE

SEIPEL

WITH Ignaz Seipel¹ there stepped forward to take the helm a statesman whose political "profile" was the most accentuated and original of the post-War epoch in Austria. Appealed to by his own friends as the last and most decisive reserve, when troubles had reached the point of utmost danger, and urged at the same time by his political opponents to take up the responsibility of power, he flung himself into the breach in May 1922 as Chancellor.

The holder of any responsible office, especially when he is called upon to achieve the extraordinary in exceptional times and when his personality surpasses the mean, has a right to be considered as a man also; otherwise he runs the risk of not being appraised justly or judged rightly.

Rarely has there been another man of eminence in whom practical achievement and personality combined in such compact harmony to form the sharply outlined portrait of a complete character.

Perhaps I may be charged with lack of impartiality if I attempt to put my personal recollections of this truly great Austrian into words. Among much else it is, after all, to be accepted as a firmly established belief of the public that I was

¹ Dr. Ignaz Seipel (1876-1932), Catholic priest and prelate, Professor of Moral Theology at the Vienna University, became Minister of Social Administration in Emperor Charles's last cabinet in 1918. After the revolution he was the leader of the Christian-Social (Catholic) Party, 1922-1924, and Chancellor of Austria, 1926-9.



one of the favourite disciples of the master, that he looked on me as one especially worthy of his confidence.

In this case, too, as in most others, truth and fiction are to be found together. True it is that unqualified reverence and absolute attachment always linked me to Seipel, a man in whom we young men, from the first moment of his stepping into the political limelight, saw the reawakener of Austrian ideals.

True it is, too, that the modest political activity which I was able to develop from the year 1927, as a member of the Nationalrat (Chamber of Deputies), proceeded steadily along the lines laid down by the leadership of Seipel, whose experience and far-reaching vision, in my deep-rooted conviction—to-day held more strongly than ever—always divined the right thing with absolute assurance and pursued it logically and with all prudence.

Not well founded, on the other hand, was the opinion that this relationship had in some way been the outcome of a particularly close intercourse and had grown out of the personal exchange of ideas and views. That, unfortunately, was never the case. On perhaps only five different occasions in all those years did I have an exhaustive exchange of ideas with Seipel, and on one of these occasions Seipel already lay on his death-bed—that was three days before his all too premature end.

There was, it is true, now and then a passing nod and a word from him, a friendly gesture, but as a rule without any particular relevance.

Why was that so? Seipel was not at all as reserved and taciturn as the superficial observer from a distance might perhaps have supposed. On the contrary: in spite of his astonishing capacity for work and his all-embracing activities, he always found time, day after day, to receive numerous callers, belonging to every walk of life, and wherever he might show himself, particularly in the precinct of parliament, he would be surrounded by friends, political and non-

political, including those who belonged to the undying race of the busybody with their somewhat one-sided opinion of their importance and powers of conversation. Just on that account did I, who all my life had a horror of pushfulness and whose greatest anxiety was not to come under the suspicion of pushfulness myself, find it more than usually difficult to come near the much venerated master.

Seipel, I believe, knew very well that he could count on the unconditional and trustworthy support of myself and of those who thought as I did—especially the Tyrolean deputies—but he did nothing on his side to encourage a close personal relationship. I was a young assistant lawyer when I heard Chancellor Seipel speak for the first time. It was at a meeting at Innsbruck, just after his first journey abroad when he had become an international figure. The lucid, quiet, convincing words in which he formulated his confession of faith in Austria moved us deeply. At last a man had come forward, courageously seized the helm, and without ifs and buts, without stipulations, recognized the ideal of the Fatherland. At the same time this man took his stand upon practical and realistic grounds, the maintenance of which was necessary if Austria's desperate economic problems were to be mastered. Thus he summoned us to share in his determination to re-create Austria.

One small incident I recall, for its artless inoffensiveness was significant—it might have occurred somewhat earlier or later. As Seipel left the town hall at Innsbruck after his speech, crowds of curious people from different ranks of life thronged round the door, for the Chancellor's presence aroused a great deal of real enthusiasm. Near me, in the middle of the crowd, a woman's pert voice exclaimed: "It's all very fine and maybe he is right, but he is still a Clerical, and after all it's Frank who's doing everything!" (Dr. Frank was Seipel's very worthy collaborator and Vice-Chancellor, afterwards for many years Austrian minister in

Berlin, a very capable and likeable politician, but who belonged to the Pan-German Party which were, as a rule, in contrast to the "black" Catholics, called "Blues".)

That was just the admirable and original characteristic of Seipel: what he stood for, he represented wholeheartedly and never denied or concealed it. He was a politician through and through, to whom politics had become an essential part of life, yet he interpreted his task in the noblest and classical sense. Politics to him signified care for the *res publica*, in such a form that the state really was, as the Latin phrase has it, *res publica* and not, as Seipel once defined it in a speech at Heiligenkreuz Abbey, the *res privata*, the business of a clique.

He was a statesman and leader who served the cause to an extraordinary degree of self-sacrifice, to whom personal ambition was a quite alien consideration, who had no interest in mere formalities and needed no setting in order to achieve effects. Yet for all this in certain cases he knew how to keep people at an appropriate distance.

He was a savant who, despite all the labours of the day, found his way back to his original calling, acknowledging himself a professor. A minister of the Emperor, called upon when times were most difficult, he most emphatically took his oath seriously and never for one second varied in his established attitude towards Austria (though many people of shallow vision would believe this no more). Still, he rejected the purely retrospective way of thinking as fruitless and emphasized that in the realm of historic development, too, the dead never rise again in the old form. Courageously he set about providing the undying spirit of Austria with new corporeal forms akin to the spirit of the age.

Above all and most of all, however, he was the priest who looked on everything earthly *sub specie æternitatis*, and in the manner and style of his life and in every situation brought his actions and decisions into relation with the sanctity of his original calling. Therein lay his greatness and the source of

his strength, therein also on occasion was to be found his most vulnerable spot.

Ignaz Seipel was the model of concentration, of order in thought, of discipline and control in action, the man of great perceptive concepts, of lucid political calculation.

Notwithstanding all the unequivocalness and absoluteness of his own intellectual outlook, he was conciliatory and full of understanding for anyone who thought differently, and serious people could never have taken umbrage at either his philosophy or his priestly habit. But the serious and deep-thinking are ever destined to be a minority, and for all too many others he was, when they wished to strike him, only too soon and too often merely the "Prelate".

After his death, it is true, all this was also found out again by many who had been unable to understand him in his lifetime and, during his last years particularly, had rather troubled him by their determination to misinterpret his actions. Soon afterwards Seipel had suddenly become in their eyes the great protagonist of Nationalism. They now endeavoured to elucidate by extracts from his speeches and writings his national outlook, particularly in view of Austria's relations with Germany.

Now it is notorious that anything can be proved by sentences torn from their context and especially can anything be explained by tricks of interpretation, the more so if one is not inclined at all to look at the context because it would refute the theory which one wishes to prove.

And in this connection I would remark here that not one sentence said by Seipel loses its force to-day in anything, especially with regard to Austria's national attitude and her relations with Germany. Now, as then, all his ideas are altogether valid, ideas deeply rooted in the traditions of Austrian thought. But such ideas ought not to be snatched forcibly from the organically constructed compact range of concepts, as otherwise one comes perilously near being a party to falsification.

The fact ought never to be ignored that Seipel was the exponent of the synthesis and harmony of German, Austrian and Catholic culture. His life work consisted to a great degree in showing again and again, in spoken word, in writing and by actions, that it was necessary to find the right order of values, to examine the different associations and to bring into a proper relation race, culture, national sentiment and the recognition of the state. He held that one must overcome that narrowness of mind which only sees the difficulties and regards as a futile and disturbing contradiction the fact that in the German space the frontiers of culture and the frontiers of states do not coincide anyway.

In a famous debate at Salzburg the writer, Joseph August Lux, spoke of the *homo austriacus* as of a salient cultural value, while Count Lerchenfeld, the German minister in Vienna at that time, denied with equal vehemence the existence and reality of this *homo austriacus*. But long before this discussion Seipel had spoken of the particularly Austrian character and the Austrian idea, before a gathering of young university men held in Vienna in July 1929.

On this occasion Seipel explained that there had been three breaks in the history of the Austrian idea. The first occurred in 1806, "when the Roman Empire of the German Nation ceased to exist and there only remained an Austrian king decorated with the title of emperor". The second break took place in 1866, "when German-speaking Austria was detached from the German Reich". Finally came 1918, "when the others also, who had had a community of existence with Austria, fell off".

Seipel ended his speech with these words: "We must respect the Austrian idea as we must respect ideas generally, for they are of God. We ought not allow this idea to become debased, and still less, from the impatience of our own hearts, to debase it ourselves. Let us be on our guard against a fresh break of the Austrian idea, so that we ourselves be not broken!"

As early as 1926, at a meeting of the Austrian Political Society, Seipel had spoken on "The true countenance of Austria". "With us," he said, "the nation, the great community of culture, is independent of the community called state. We Austrian Germans put it higher than the state. We do not believe that the state is alone able to give expression to the life of a nation. Our own national history has not been that of other nations. In fact I doubt whether the cause of harmony is served by leading our national ideal on to paths along which other nations have sought or found their ideals."

That is how Seipel thought.

When, in a desperate hour, he reached the head of the government, he regarded it as of the highest importance to create new confidence in the state at home and to offer proof of its ability to live.

In his first speech before the League Council at Geneva, in September 1922, he was able, by quoting a few figures, to shed light upon the gravity of Austria's situation.

On July 1, 1919, he pointed out, 100 Swiss francs were equal to 567 Austrian kronen; on July 1, 1920, they represented as much as 2,702 kronen; a year later 12,200, and finally, on July 1, 1922, these 100 Swiss francs were worth 360,000 Austrian kronen. By this time a loaf of bread cost 6,600 kronen, a kilogram of Czechoslovak coal 700, a shirt 200,000.

The Chancellor raised alarm throughout the world, and in that way he inaugurated a spell of activity in the field of foreign policy in order to secure consideration for Austria. In the summer of 1922 he set out on the journey, which was to arouse such a stir, to Berlin, Prague and Verona, in order to convince the Powers that adequate help for Austria in the form of credits was indispensable. He pointed out that it was not the fault of Austria that then in the direst need she had to call for foreign assistance; rather was it through the Peace Treaty that the old economic structure had been torn

asunder and great wealth lost thereby. The state found itself in the grim necessity of embarking on a root-and-branch reform of its civil administration in order to balance the budget, a necessary condition for the attainment of economic stability.

But sweeping and trenchant measures of economy were neither feasible nor justifiable unless the definite restoration of the state were assured. Moreover, the credits were absolutely necessary if Austria was not to break up without the hope of recovery. For years the European chancellories had been aware of that precarious state of things, but every step of the Austrian Government had until then merely led to fair words, investigations and repeated postponements. Thus the time had to come when at length the hopelessness of the Austrian situation gave rise to rumours of an impending invasion by foreign troops, with the partitioning of Austria.

Seipel was able to return home with a triumph. A five hundred million gold kronen credit was guaranteed. After that it became a matter of getting control of the situation at home.

In the Austrian parliament of that day there was a non-Socialist majority, consisting of the Christian Socials and the Pan-German Party, the Socialists being in opposition. In this hour of crisis parliamentary democracy in Austria was put to a crucial test, for no one could seriously question the necessity of the loan and no one could assert that he was in a position to get better and easier conditions for it. Thus not a problem of domestic politics which could be settled on the basis of party views and tactics was being debated, but the very existence of the state itself.

The course of the decisive sitting of the Nationalrat on September 14, 1922, reveals with clarity the grounds of subsequent political evolution during Seipel's term of office, and fully discloses the factors in domestic policy which were bound to lead to a crisis.

With every sign of dramatic tension the Chancellor rose

from the government bench and made his exhaustive plea for the loan, the bringing about of which depended on the consent of the Nationalrat. He referred to the disturbing rumours of an impending end of Austria, whose fate was to be decided by the invasion of foreign troops and her partitioning among her neighbours. Rejecting all these rumours Seipel said:

"Nowhere is there any such intention, and certainly not among the great powers who have, after all, the last say, even where the policy of the small powers is in question. To be sure, I have been told everywhere that the firm intention to maintain our freedom and territorial integrity depends upon the way things turn out in our own land. Should something really unheard of occur" (here Seipel was referring to the possibility of disorders accompanying the political discussions) "or even should our neighbours suppose themselves justified in assuming that certain disorders in Austria might give rise to a situation menacing the peace of Europe, then, obviously, one cannot tell what might happen."

In solemn words Seipel went on to justify the need for the help of the League of Nations, help which depended on the Nationalrat's consent to financial control. He entreated the opposition in the interest of the state to set aside all considerations of mere agitation, since the rejection of the loan, together with the financial control, would do good to nobody. The threat to call out the masses could only let a conflagration loose which would seal the fate of the state without putting an end to its want and misery.

The government parties, through their various speakers, supported the Chancellor and emphasized that it was by his extreme skill that the country had been saved, in the last hour, from a second collapse worse than anything that had gone on before.

The Socialist opposition were adamant to all argument, not so much because they could offer another solution as merely because they would not help the Chancellor, so

violently opposed, to obtain a triumph with their votes. At the same time they had no serious thought of preventing this success, being shrewd enough to recognize that not a party matter was involved but the existence of the community itself.

Now there would have been nothing to say against it, if, following parliamentary tradition, the opposition had, from considerations of principle, refused their votes to the government, especially if that did not prevent the bill from passing. But the kind of argument used and the actual terms of the rejection deserve attention, for they are symptomatic of the bitterness of the opposition and their negative spirit.

The leader of the Socialists on their intellectual side, Dr. Otto Bauer, answered the Chancellor thus: "With high treason we do not enter into discussion. So long as it is harmless we treat it with contempt, and we crush it when it becomes a menace. . . ." The earlier Austrian Chancellor, Dr. Renner, the next Socialist orator, said: "Of course we all know that as things are now Austria has no future. We can keep ourselves alive just until the hour of liberation strikes, that is until we as Germans can decide in favour of the state to which we belong by the nature of things." With this line of argument Dr. Renner opposed the government motion for the acceptance of the loan on the conditions agreed upon.

Since then, to be sure, sixteen years have gone by. I can hardly believe that the same arguments would be repeated by the same people to-day, and especially I wonder whether the classes for which the speeches of 1922 were meant would regard it as an advantage in 1938, if the principles the orators expounded on that occasion had prevailed in subsequent policy.

A reflection such as this seems to me especially worth the attention of the people who to-day are in sympathy with the opinion of the Socialist opposition but have long forgotten the attitude their own party then took up—of the

people who now reproach the present Austrian regime with insisting too strongly, and to the supposed disadvantage of the workers, on a Germanophile policy.

The debate of September 14, 1922, was continued at later sittings of the Nationalrat. On October 12 of the same year, Dr. Renner, proceeding with his attack upon the Chancellor, said: "I believe that present trust in the League of Nations will get more questionable daily. In Protocol Number One (which deals with the maintenance of Austria's independence) you are bartering the hopes our people have in the future. You will understand me when I say we shall not go along with you. No, no! A thousand times no! That path we shall never tread!"

Here, too, again, in view of the situation of world politics to-day and the attitude of the different "ideologies" towards the League of Nations, a moment of reflection regarding the vicissitudes of events and opinions seems not to be out of place. How times do change indeed!

To the controversial remarks of the previous speakers of his party, the deputy, Karl Seitz, Socialist mayor of Vienna, speaking on October 12, 1922, added this: "We hoped there would never be a Saint Germain again. We did not believe, or did not wish to believe, that a man elected from among the German-Austrian people would be a party to the betrayal of his own nation. We Socialists cannot pardon this crime, the crime of high treason to people and land."

Finally the opposition moved a resolution voicing the Nationalrat's sternest disapproval of the Chancellor.

That was done, too, despite the fact that the Pan-German Party, of whose political creed the "Anschluss" idea was a definite part, voted for the government, in which they had several representatives, for at that time they recognized quite clearly that no national advantage was to be derived by passing the sentence of death upon one's own land, and that it was far more important to keep the country and its

people alive and not close the way against them to a peaceful and fortunate future.

The motion of the government was accepted. This result evidently pleased the Socialist opposition, despite the violence with which they voiced their indignation, for after all they had still been left the platform upon which they could go on with their agitation. The whole controversy, however, was the signal for an even more violent attack upon the Chancellor, and was characteristic of the way the conflict was to be fought out in the future. All this clearly shows how Austria's subsequent political evolution became inevitable.

Seipel has often been reproached with being a pedantic anti-Marxist, never able to rise above his own opinions and so establish relations with the Socialists, and in that way attain the concentration of all the forces of the country. Seipel was often ready for such a concentration of forces, and it was the others who did not want it. That was proved both in the year 1922 and eight years later, when Seipel, in another hour of crisis, appealed for the co-operation of all the constructive elements of the country. It is true that nothing was to be expected from Seipel beyond that. He would never have been prepared to ratify a political alliance in such a manner that for the sake of peace principles would have been sacrificed. Upon this matter Seipel always had his own opinion, an opinion that sometimes brought him into opposition with many leaders of the Centre (Catholic) Party in the German Reich. The course of events proved him right.

From the year 1922 onwards he fought an heroic fight with stubborn determination. His aim was to make Austria respected abroad and arouse faith in Austria at home. For faith in one's own power to live, in one's capacity for achievement, is an essential condition even for economic recovery.

He who had himself come from modest conditions, who

had known want from personal experience, who was, moreover, free from any pretensions and ready for any sacrifice, was assuredly the last person against whom the charge of hostility to the working classes ought to have been brought. Social problems even to the paramount notion of the reform of society belonged to the kingly ideas of this life rich in labour. What he resented throughout his life was the identification of the interests of the workers with the struggle on behalf of Socialist doctrines. In that respect he seemed quite the reverse of anti-social, though certainly anti-Socialist in his outlook and actions. In those days, when Austrian Socialism would not even once co-operate with other parties in the interest of the state as a whole, Seipel from time to time addressed to them such words as: "To give the loudest cheer for the Republic is not so important as to do more work for it."

Therefore it came about by necessity that Seipel should get his majority in parliament by a coalition of the non-Socialist parties and that the Socialists should be driven into the position of an isolated opposition party. To preserve Austria and create the conditions needed for her future, Seipel decided to weld all the forces available into a front of defence against the Socialists, and by prematurely using up his strength in the process he paid for that policy by his far-too-early death. At the same time, however, he laid the foundations of the freedom and independence of his country. It was in this way that the "Bourgeois Block", round which so much controversy raged, was formed, though the title was a misnomer applied to the government coalition by its opponents.

In the government camp the coalition pact resulted in a truce among conflicting political creeds, and it served to harmonize opposing outlooks. First the Pan-German, then the Agrarian League forwent the immediate achievement of their political aims, so far as they related to the "Anschluss", and the Catholics on their side were obliged to

respect the ideas of their political allies.

The essence of every parliamentary coalition is that all the parties must make sacrifices. In Austria it was always extremely difficult to bring opposing outlooks together for a specific purpose, and far too often would people of shallow judgment apportion blame and attribute responsibility wrongly when the fulfilment of an aspiration, admirable in itself, had been frustrated by prevailing political conditions.

Thus it was that the party coalition of that day was compelled by the circumstances to restrict itself to a position of pure defence against the Socialist onslaught. This gave the opposition the chance of exploiting their own situation by means of unbounded promises and irresponsible demands.

Purposeful encouragement of the conception of Austria and of confidence in her destiny was rather neglected at that time, though Seipel himself on countless occasions insisted on the possibility, nay the necessity, of harmonizing the national German with the patriotic Austrian outlook. It was never possible, for various considerations, to bring this idea to fruition systematically in the period of which I write. Later on we all found this a great misfortune, but it often happens that even high values must be put aside so long as the most vital elements of existence are in danger.

In this way and as far as it was humanly possible, the Chancellor had obtained for himself the majority needed under a parliamentary system to do the work ahead of him, especially the difficult and complex task of economic reconstruction. Yet, on the other hand, the political struggle at home grew more and more violent and at last it created a tension which led to fierce outbursts.

Even when there was no election campaign in progress, the unbridled agitation of which the Chancellor was the target and which strove to hit him at the point where he was most sensible—his priest's soutane—caused party passion to mount to fever-heat. The revolver shots of June 1,

1924,¹ which laid the Chancellor low with a dangerous wound, were an outcome of this agitation which caused many another disaster, to be discussed elsewhere.

Quite apart from the consequences of this attempt upon his life, Seipel was greatly handicapped in his work by lingering diabetes. Nevertheless he continued his march onwards, head erect and imperturbable. Whether he was at the head of the government or had given up the chancellorship, as during the period from November 1924 to October 1926, when Dr. Ramek² was at the head of the government, and last of all, in the time from April 1929 onwards, he continued to be looked on by foreign opinion and at home as Austria's most respected political leader, the statesman who represented her most worthily.

He was the epitome of superiority and wisdom. Whether he spoke among a small group, or down from the rostrum, peculiar to himself was a purposeful, refined, slightly hesitating delivery, and contents and style of his speech, as far as the final full-stop, were a harmonious entity never calling for the least modification.

Hostile to dramatic gesture and cheap pathos, Seipel achieved his effects through the concentrated force of sober arguments, marshalled the one after the other, and the subtle irony, always a feature of his private talk, recurred also, though in a different form, in the oratorical formulation of his ideas. This produced an impression that was always to the point, yet never tedious or wearisome.

Quite the reverse of a mass orator in the current sense he captured the intellectuals above all, exercising permanent influence over them. But his aim was to address himself to all, and all were thrilled by the earnestness and the compelling honesty which spoke from his crystal-clear sentences.

¹ Karl Jaworek, an unemployed worker, attempted to assassinate Seipel at Vienna Southern Railway Terminus.

² Dr. Karl Ramek, Christian Social deputy from Salzburg, was Chancellor during the two years of Dr. Seipel's abstinence from any official position.

Thus was Seipel, in his influence as an orator also, a quite unique personality. Only very rarely have I seen him lose his self-control. A colour, a shade deeper than usual, would spread across the face, there would be a sudden, hardly noticeable raising of the voice—infallible signs that to contradict him would be out of place. But very soon he would again display the iron calm which so decidedly belonged to his salient characteristics.

There is no doubt that Austria's subsequent evolution would not have been conceivable without Seipel. In his time it was the custom, in those cases where a debate was not thought desirable even among friends, to say in some public speech or other what one wanted to be known. Thus we in Austria sometimes heard Seipel's views upon questions of the hour in a lecture, which he had arranged to deliver in Sweden or in the Reich, in a quite different connection. I have a particularly lively recollection of an unusually clever speech upon the essence of German federalism which Seipel once delivered at Munich. It is true that he seemed on that occasion to have before his mind the whole complex of Prussian-Bavarian rivalries; but we in the Tyrol, too, understood him quite well, for it was clear that much of what he said was meant for Austria.

Then there was that New Year's Eve speech in Vienna, when Seipel subjected the organization and administration of the Chambers of Agriculture to a critical analysis. That speech led to the first public contact between Seipel and Engelbert Dollfuss. Dollfuss, then treasurer of the Lower Austrian Chamber of Agriculture, a man full of the joy of work, charged with all the energies of youth, interpreted Seipel's words as a challenge and, on his side, criticized in public the all too academic professor.

Thus the two men whose fate became Austria's as well, for whom they used themselves up and were destined to save her, were at first poles asunder in outlook, despite the fundamental political sympathies between them. Seipel was, after

all, the conservative, while Dollfuss, rich in new ideas, hastened forward into the future. For years both followed the same path, side by side, but now and then also the one would fail to understand the other.

History took its course: the pitiless law of Nature exacted replacement. At this juncture the two men found each other. Dollfuss, as soon as he himself was assuming political power, held Seipel in unqualified respect, and Seipel followed with deep sympathy and entire approval the first steps of the new Chancellor, Engelbert Dollfuss.

On one occasion, in Mariazell, Dollfuss told me of the deep impression he had just brought away from Pernitz,¹ where he had visited Seipel, then weary unto death. I knew what he meant by that, as about the same time I myself had been received by Seipel in his sick-room. The recollection of Seipel was always with Dollfuss and in that, too, I am like him.

In a tired voice and struggling against shortness of breath Seipel, after a brief discussion about the course of events in Germany (at that time Herr von Papen had been appointed Chancellor), uttered to me words something like these: "Thank God, Austria is on the right road!"

Barely a week later, on August 5, 1932, we bore Ignaz Seipel to the grave.

¹ Health resort in Lower Austria, where Seipel died on August 5th, 1932. (*Translators' note.*)

CHAPTER SIX

YEARS OF CRISIS

FOR years after the Austrian Monarchy had gone down in the thunder and lightning of the events of 1918, a thick and impenetrable pall of darkness—politically and economically speaking—lay over that unfortunate and conquered land. Hunger and despair spoke out of mournful eyes. There was a vacillating conception of politics which upset the Austrian, whether he lived in Vienna or beyond the Arlberg. The breakdown of self-control deadened the sense of spiritual values. There came the intoxicating, frantic speculation of the inflation period, with the inordinate desire to relish whatever the present had to give for fear that the future might bring the loss of everything. Such were the outward signs of the crisis besetting Austria.

To overcome this state of things, at least on the economic and political side, Seipel had stepped forward and laid the foundations of a new Austria—which one might call the second phase of her existence. He spoke those words concerning the indispensable "reconstruction of souls"—words often quoted and criticized—and he put the general conception of the state into a sound and reasonable shape again.

This tireless and purposeful captain, moving along the channels of that parliamentary democracy which gave to the decade 1922-32 its most characteristic aspect, brought the ship of state round innumerable rocks. Adaptation of the administrative machinery to the reduced capacities of the

country, reduction of officials, increase in taxation, reform and stabilization of the currency, balancing of the budget—those were the promontories round which he had to steer his course. At the same time he tried to revive memories of the past, in order to use them as a foundation for building up a new self-consciousness within the mind of the Austrian citizen.

To achieve all this it was essential to refute and overcome, step by step, the disruptive revolutionary outlook which had quickly run to waste in obviously futile plans and experiments. And so Austria's path led her to an increase of consideration abroad and a quite remarkable economic recovery at home.

This recovery, favoured by a boom which proved to be more apparent than real, looked very hopeful about the year 1927, and the upward trend continued until 1929. In the year 1927 there was even talk in the Nationalrat of the so-called prosperity index, and a law had been passed to deal with workers' insurance, and was to be applied in its entirety once the number of unemployed on benefit dropped below a yearly average of 100,000. Many people assumed such a position would be reached speedily, though, to be sure, there were industrial leaders who raised monitory voices and pointed out the storm-signal of the growing passivity of the trade balance, which had risen to a thousand million Austrian schillings by the year 1929. In 1927 an average over the year of more than 200,000 unemployed was reported. In the two following years this figure dropped, rose steadily in 1930, was twice as high in 1933 and afterwards fell slowly.

From 1931 on a second big crisis, this time involving the entire world, broke over Austria and once more shook the country to her foundations. The crash of the Credit-Anstalt, Austria's leading bank, necessitated the state's assumption of its liabilities, led to a general business slump and involved a dangerous fluctuation of the currency (which, when the crisis was at its height, was dealt in abroad at a discount of

30 per cent). A new trenchant and painful reduction of the budget, owing to the financial catastrophe, was a further characteristic of that melancholy epoch.

In the summer of 1932, when Seipel went from us, Austria again stood at the parting of the ways. The political and economic foundations of the state rocked once more, and the whole structure of Austria, put up after such immense effort, seemed in danger of collapsing. That was the hour when Dollfuss rose and flung himself into the breach. He struggled first to find a new basis for the national economy, then to bring about the reconstitution of state and society, and eventually he put us on the road leading to the third Austria.

I now propose to tell how this fateful decade separating the rebirth of Austria under Seipel in 1922 from the advent of the third Austria affected me, a man of the War generation, who during that period gradually entered into political life.

Immediately after the War's end we all felt a strong and natural desire to enjoy our freedom after the years of service and captivity. Then there was the urgency of earning a modest living as quickly as possible. This explained the general rush to get employment in the banks, a rush which took place in the first post-War years. Soon afterwards, anyhow, the end of the inflation led to the inevitable collapse of the over-expanded Austrian banking system, and a large number of young men were faced with the tragic problem of beginning all over again for a second time. Many a man who had come through the War without mishap went under during these first years of the new order.

The general attitude of mind to the problems of the day was essentially subjective. Scepticism with regard to traditions and stale formulæ, together with a general repudiation of the mass-principle; those were the features which, as a rule, characterized the intellectual outlook of the young men then struggling with the exigencies of the hour. Others, it

is true, were simply intoxicated by the feeling of freedom, embarked upon a wholly licentious life and often completely ruined themselves.

Side by side with these people from twenty to thirty there had grown up in the meantime another generation who knew little about the War by personal experience and were naturally hostile to it. This younger generation searched for new forms of society and sometimes behaved as though they aspired to overthrow the philosophy of the elders which they felt to be out of harmony with times and lacking in discipline.

There was a great deal that was valuable in the earnest endeavours of those young people. They inscribed a programme of reform upon their banner, recognized frankly the inadequacies of the past, had a contempt for what was deterrent in the post-War period and aspired to the pureness of a happier future world. Besides much that was commendable, presumption, too, undoubtedly characterized some of the different organizations of youth, which very soon embraced extremist ideas.

While we, as the result of war experience and its constraints, wished for freedom and repudiated every restraint, the younger generation who had not benefited by the discipline of the uniform started to struggle for a new form of collective organization. There was a general quest for new romanticism and the wish to overcome the summarily condemned past, especially all the earlier social and political forms. To return to nature was the universal cry, and it found an expression in the careful cultivation of new songs, dances and games, in new forms of life, and also now and then in original and slovenly dress, meant to demonstrate in favour of new and healthier communal ideals. Curiously enough, by this stressed neglect of traditional forms a new formalism resulted, and this sought to gain ground in a number of organizations, particularly those of a denominational character, organizations which worked side by side, yet never could get to know one another.

Among the determining factors was the perfectly healthy wish to overcome much that was antiquated and out-of-date. Many a bad practice among the traditional university student's usages, for example, was replaced by new forms. Even if this movement did not at first make great headway, Austria was soon influenced by the different organizations and leagues in Germany, where, particularly in the west, youth was in a ferment.

The generation which had served at the front argued that they should be given pride of place in the work of reconstructing the country and should on no account be overlooked. We were not in the least disposed to allow ourselves to be pushed into the background.

Thus the younger people in those years presented a motley picture split up into manifold shades of colour. In common there was a desire to overcome the lost war's legacy of humiliation, a recognition of the deficiencies of the times and a deep feeling of dissatisfaction with the conditions of society and state.

It soon became clear that neither the individualistic spirit nor the party formations with their over-emphasis on distinctions could open the way to a new community of work. Both the authority that unites and the knowledge that is needed to obey were wanting, though in the youth organizations remarkable discussions about the need for leadership and the obligation to obey took place from time to time.

Out of this unsatisfactory state of things, which enabled unrivalled achievements to be performed by individuals without permitting a real triumph of the new ideals, there slowly came the time when military discipline revived and with it the desire for uniform acknowledgment of leadership, for the absorption of the individual in the community, for the revival of discipline in thought and conduct. Suddenly the pendulum approached the extreme after having reached the extreme in the opposite direction just after the War.

Unity was on the way to being re-established, yet this

way first led through an attitude of negation, refutation and defence.

Associated with the economic crisis on a large scale there was a very marked loss of confidence, and this led to mental turmoil among young people with regard to their concepts of state and society.

With the retrospective frame of mind which looked on the restoration of the Monarchy as a supreme remedy, youth as a rule had at first neither sympathy nor understanding. At that period emotional factors almost always lay behind the monarchist idea, and only very rarely did considerations of reason contribute to it. The upshot was that there was far too much discussion about personal experiences and memories, far too little about the needs of the hour and the possibilities of the future; too much about what had happened yesterday, too little about what was happening then or might happen afterwards.

Now it is evident that references, whether blunt or subtle, to the past—particularly in the form of sentimental glorification of “the good old days”—tend to exasperate young people into contradiction, because such references instinctively evoke with them a picture of sterile pettifoggery. Young people have always had a terror of being looked on as reactionaries. In times of instability, youth have invariably been opposed to any conservative, retrograde or even merely prudent and immobile tendencies. What they are eager for is the dynamics of movement, and their hearts are glad, setting apart sober reflection, when they listen to talks of attack, progress and revolution.

Thus the immobile aspects of parliamentary democracy in its typical expression—the municipal councils, provincial diets and the central parliament—together with its methods of government and administration, very soon aroused the criticism and resistance of youth.

It is not as though democracy in itself might not have been able to capture the imagination and goodwill of the

young. In 1925 or so, Dr. Hellpach, the former president of the state of Baden (in Germany), wrote about "The Crisis of Democracy", and what he said left a durable impression. Whenever parliamentary government reaches the zenith of power, he stated, and whenever political authority is concentrated in the hands of people's representatives, confidence is forfeited, and diminution and then loss of power follow invariably. But as soon as the power of parliament is broken, then its authority tends to revive, and the demand for popular government again becomes a rallying cry.

Reactions such as these are quite natural. The "pantarei"¹ of the old Greeks, the eternal ascent and descent, the alternations of the high and the low in human affairs, like the natural law of light and shade, are an essential part of political science too. No form of government is wholly perfect. After all, government is the handiwork of man and must display man's weaknesses. As times move on, flaws appear in the temporary forms, and the darker side of institutions or regimes reveal themselves so clearly that remedies become necessary.

In times of intellectual, economic and political crisis the rhythm of this alternative movement is bound to be shorter than in times of a level, undisturbed and peaceful prosperity. That is why the mental attitude of a nation's youth is scarcely determined by anything else than by the accidental position this youth happens to take within this eternal rhythm. In 1848 our students mounted the barricades to fight for popular rights, for the paramount ideal of democracy and for parliamentary institutions; while in 1930 they were equally ready to anathematize those ideals of yesterday, for in the meantime the overthrow of parliamentary democracy had become the popular remedy of the day.

I wonder on which side the next generation will be found.

¹ "Everything is in a state of flux."—Philosophical thesis of Thales of Miletus (636-546 B.C.).

I am of the opinion that there is never finality in political forms or tendencies, and I do not think it right to regard any system, no matter what it may be called, as wholly timeless and immune from error. Politicians would do well to remember the opinion of Hanslick,¹ who said he had "not the presumption to be infallible but the courage to be sincere". Doubtless, too, it is right, as prominent modern exponents of new national systems assert sometimes, that their ideas should not be considered in the light of goods for export.

Precisely with regard to the practical political form of a state, the people's rights, its share in responsibility and the attainment of a truly democratic order of thought, a great deal depends on the special atmosphere that has been created by historical experience and tradition. This atmosphere is further determined by natural conditions, by the general disposition and the particular gifts of a nation.

Let me refer to an anecdote current on the Continent: On the occasion of a great international entertainment in London, a distinguished continental personage asked an English dignitary in whose company he had been admiring the renowned English lawn in front of some mansion or other: "What could I do to get such beautiful grass? I should like to introduce it into my own land!"

"Then you will need five hundred years to start with."

That was the Englishman's reply.

¹ Eduard Hanslick (1825-1904), renowned Viennese art critic, adversary of Richard Wagner.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE DECLINE OF PARLIAMENTARY INSTITUTIONS

IN the struggle against parliamentary democracy the political parties were chiefly struck at, as being the upholders of the "system". In many other countries as well the authority of parliament had been for a long time badly shaken, but there were three reasons why in Austria in particular these institutions were open to assault.

Firstly, Austria, unlike England, or even Hungary, had not the tradition of parliament. Already in pre-War Austria parliaments had had a problematical reputation. Their activities had often been futile; the repeated cases of obstruction, the pronounced centrifugal and disruptive tendencies, and the constant abuse of the privilege of parliamentary immunity, besides various other features, had left an unpleasant aftertaste with all reflecting patriotic people.

Moreover, after the revolution, the new Nationalrat was faced at once with the ungrateful task of winding up the old system, besides having to support the odium of all the painful measures needed to meet the economic emergency, whilst the ratification of the Treaty of Saint Germain,¹ which had been forced upon Austria, was also a serious handicap on it.

It is true that no other authority or political body could have done differently or much better; but this consideration

¹ The Peace Treaty between the Allies and Austria was signed at Saint Germain in September 1919. (*Translators' note.*)

did not interest public opinion, which judged by results alone. On that account it was quite natural that the process of decay, against which no political system can be immune, should have set in rapidly.

Finally, the republican constitution had tried to satisfy the idea of full sovereignty of the people by saddling the parliament with every power and responsibility. There was scarcely any other authority with competence to act effectively in times of crisis. More particularly the President of the Republic did not possess powers corresponding to his office, for up to the year 1929 he could not even exercise the right to dissolve the Nationalrat or to appoint the government. Limitations such as those clearly made responsible and far-seeing administration almost impossible.

Only someone who has himself lived through many fateful hours, when the existence of the state seemed in jeopardy, can fully appreciate what such conditions meant for Austria, a small country without the means for resisting a crisis possessed by large and wealthy nations.

The distribution of political forces within the country did not contribute towards the effective working of the parliamentary system either, for a kind of trench-warfare had set in and electoral fronts had become rigid.

Two great parties, the Christian Socials and the Socialists, almost equal in strength, faced each other, one drawing its support mainly from the country-side, the other from Vienna and the industrial districts. Besides these, there were the two "bourgeois" parties, the Pan-Germans and the Agricultural League. They were often able to turn the scale at divisions, but their numbers had not changed very much in the course of several elections held up to 1932.

As a result, the problem of securing a majority in the Nationalrat was always a delicate one, and this was particularly serious, since any constitutional change needed a two-thirds majority, and no government could count on getting such a qualified majority without great difficulties.

Neither the French nor the Swiss constitution, to mention only two democracies, require a two-thirds majority in parliament to enact constitutional changes.

On the other hand the government parties who, in the critical years after 1920, had supported the responsibility of power without having a substantial majority, were shouldered with a one-sided responsibility which diminished their prestige with the masses.

Therefore, when in the spring of 1932 political trench warfare gave way to general movement, it was the National Socialists who appeared to prosper by the new electoral activity. Their struggle to get into parliament admittedly aimed at the destruction of parliamentary institutions altogether, and, moreover, in their campaign to seize the power of the state they had before their eyes, as the final goal, the effective surrender of Austria's sovereignty and the rejection of the idea of her national independence.

Of course the geographical position of Austria in itself favoured the spread, within her borders, of the order of ideas which had led to transformation of the state and the suppression of parliament in Germany and Italy.

Parliamentary democracy in Austria has often been described as a democracy of form only, and this description was justified. From the first the reputed sovereignty of the people had existed on paper only and had never been anything but an anæmic fiction, a delusive façade of apparently democratic institutions.

The way of nominating the candidates for parliament and, more particularly, the system of voting on lists of candidates instead of individuals had roused legitimate criticism. Under this system the broad masses had never the right to have a say in the choice of candidates, a right granted them in theory. They were bound to accept the proposals of the election committee, the members of which, in turn, were nominated by the different party committees. Lists got together on this principle had to be voted on as

a whole, no alterations, erasions or substitutions being allowed.

The upshot of this system was that not single candidates but parties presented themselves for election, an arrangement that need not necessarily have been unsound, provided that in addition to parliament there had been some final instance, in the person of a president or monarch, who enjoyed the nation's full confidence and was able, when the need arose, to take decisions on his own responsibility. An instance of the sort did not exist in Austria, where, on the contrary, the President of the Republic was elected by parliament and, moreover, for a long time possessed no definite powers. That is why, for example, the standards of American democracy will not give a just idea of the conditions in Austria.

Besides, parliamentary democracy was greatly restricted in its scope. In times of crisis it was never in a position to solve really big problems with the speed required. Every political coalition exacts from each party represented in it the sacrifice of a part of its programme, if the alliance is to be kept in being. This invariably led to the popular reproach against the parties of "bargaining", by which was meant the search for compromises resulting in half-solutions only, satisfactory to no one.

Precisely such methods were bound to exasperate the young and vigorous forces of the nation. A government responsible to parliament only was evidently required to face very difficult problems, and was never in a position to frame a policy of long view. The situation got especially dangerous whenever the government needed to obtain the consent of the opposition to a policy involving vital state interests. All too frequently such consent had to be paid for in concessions technically inadmissible. The upshot was that many political decisions were based on the principle of the choice of the smaller evil.

I grant that the fight against the parliamentary system

was also carried on with arguments as unsound as those employed in most day-by-day political conflicts. But as party democracy itself for years had offered the example of a demagogic agitation, it had not the right to complain when the poisoned arrows now flew in increasing numbers in its own direction.

From the first years after the revolution the possibility of getting a solid two-thirds majority—needed at any time to bring about a change in the constitution—was blocked, as the tactics of the Austrian Socialists, their procedure and attitude to the idea of the state, their scarcely veiled efforts to set up the “dictatorship of the working class”, made political co-operation between them and the other parties out of the question. Indeed that was why the crisis grew more acute and menacing, and in this connection it should never be forgotten that if, at a fateful moment, the Socialist upholders of a jeopardized democracy went under, it was retribution for the fact that they themselves had toyed with the idea of dictatorship for years.

For too long a time did the Socialists persist, for purposes of their own agitation, to assert that, after all, democracy was only meant to be an ephemeral and transitory system; too often did they announce in Austria, as they have done elsewhere since then, that democracy was not an article of faith with Marxists but only a matter of political expediency, determined by the conditions of time. In other words they claimed that political systems depended on force, and that once they possessed power there would be a change of system and democratic trappings would go into the lumber-room, there to accumulate dust with other bourgeois prejudices.

I uphold this opinion of Austrian Socialist mentality notwithstanding the criticism which Lenin once levelled at Otto Bauer's political tactics. “It is clear” (wrote Lenin) “that this man, ablest of the Socialist traitors, is nothing more than a hopeless scholarly buffoon—a common

example of the pedant and a bourgeois shopkeeper in his outlook."

As events afterwards revealed, there had been a difference of opinion only regarding prospects of success and the time when force was to be used to overthrow the "bourgeois" and replace him by the "working class".

Among typical aspects of a "party democracy", disposed to approach every problem from the standpoint of election prospects, was this one also: that ideas, wise and necessary in themselves, were resisted with bitterness if they should happen to be put forward by a rival party. Thus it happened frequently that an essential, or, at any rate, a reasonable measure was held up just because one party grudged the other a success. As a consequence endless harm was caused by this attitude which tried to make party capital out of any important question, and that despite the fact that state or workers might have to foot the bill later on.

The prolonged and unscrupulous treatment of real or manufactured scandals in public, without any conscientious investigation, belongs also to the misdeeds of the Austrian parliamentary system. Under the mask of an injured sense of justice, or a demand, which no one challenged, for fair play, there was too frequently an attempt to work up an attractive useful slogan for the next elections. In the interest of public integrity and for the sake of swift justice the right course to adopt in such cases should obviously have been to get at the facts first by means of an investigation in private, and then only to disclose the evidence, sum up and deliver judgment in open court.

To this same chapter belonged the practice of addressing speeches not to parliament itself so much as to the public outside its doors. Thus earnest work and frivolous agitation went on side by side, the last mentioned getting the upper hand far too frequently.

It must finally be considered that the parliamentary system, as it worked in Austria, meant that personal opinion

THE DECLINE OF PARLIAMENTARY INSTITUTIONS

could find expression in the political clubs¹ only, whilst each public action was just the outcome of discussions by a group of party leaders. Real debates, without prearranged views and attitude, took place at most in sittings of the different parliamentary committees, while the debates in parliament were just a piece of stage-craft, where only the absence by chance of some deputy or other might, on occasion, lead to surprises on divisions. With conditions such as I have described it was clear that it required no particularly adroit knowledge of stage-craft to stir up public opinion against parliament and what parliament stood for.

In those times of crisis, when the reputation of parliament was declining, the members themselves naturally were the chief sufferers. Often enough were they faced with problems they were not able to solve, despite all the goodwill in the world.

The evil was in the system itself; even the choice of candidates depended not on merit or aptitude for the tasks of parliament but rather upon local considerations and party interests.

Besides, every member was expected to be at home equally in all questions that might come up for discussion by the legislature. An industrial worker with a seat in the Nationalrat had to take a part in discussions and decisions on purely farming issues; the representative of an agricultural division had to concern himself with questions such as the social rights of factory workers; the tradesman, or small business man, was supposed to understand all about the complicated regulations governing employment and wages in the public services. The upshot was that the collaboration of members in debate, either at committee meetings or parliamentary sittings, was not of so much importance as their sheer material presence, for that ensured that the

¹ Not clubs in the English or American sense, primarily for social purposes, but purely political party organizations with their seat in the House of Parliament.

division corresponded to the relative powers of the parties.

Nevertheless, that might have been supportable, had members whose votes, according to the constitution, were of such vital importance, been able to devote themselves altogether to their parliamentary duties. Such duties were manifold, for besides actual assistance at debates members were expected to act as the intermediaries between their constituents and the authorities and to perform those other tasks which fell within the general description of "using influence". It was, for obvious reasons, never possible to stamp out the practice of "using influence", though the attempt was made often enough.

The member of parliament, except when he was a public official who could claim leave of absence to attend to his parliamentary duties, had his own occupation to follow as before his election, for while his work in the Nationalrat might last a long time or a short, it could never, in the nature of things, be permanent.

Thus the deputy as a rule had to attend to his own profession or business as well, and if he did give it up, then he ran the risk of getting a reputation as a discredited "professional politician".

Clearly the best arrangement would have been for each member to forgo private work whilst in parliament, but then there was the obstacle I have just referred to: the charge of being a professional politician has been a favourite and effective weapon of political controversy. To make a living out of politics has always been looked on as dishonourable—and the popular view is sound, should the politician abuse his position for personal profit.

Thus an almost insoluble dilemma arose. The only way out would have been to see that no candidate was elected who was dependent on the income out of his profession or business. But since deputies could only receive a modest salary for their parliamentary activities, that would have meant in practice that only public officials, people on pension

or wealthy people could have got seats, a scheme which clearly ran counter to the whole conception of democracy.

On the other hand it was of importance that each social and economic class, more particularly the younger generation, should have their spokesmen in parliament, and it was further necessary that persons with political capacity, a certain amount of oratorical gifts and nerves to match should get seats. None of the political parties could get along without such spokesmen of the different stations in life, for each party in itself offered a fairly true picture of the entire nation. All parties were "people's parties", all had followers drawn from every occupation and social walk. Indeed, only political ideas and outlook distinguished one party from another.

The Socialists were just as little a sheer workers' party as the National Socialist German Workers Party (N.S.D.A.P.) was, or as little as the Christian Socials could be regarded as a party of peasants alone.

It is true that the Socialists began as the political organization of a very substantial part of the industrial workers and small employees, but those classes were never in their ranks to a man—the Christian and so-called national workers and employees had already found political asylum in other organizations.

Moreover, in the ranks of the Socialists there were to be found public servants as well, including in a few instances the heads of ministry departments, just as there were business men and shopkeepers in that party too. That the N.S.D.A.P. never appealed to the workers exclusively was evident from the beginning, whilst the peasants were not by all means Christian Socials—the liberally minded peasants invariably adhered to the Agricultural Union.

Thus it came about that in political agitation all parties used to appeal to the nation as a whole and none of them addressed themselves to particular groups only. Still, it frequently happened on decisive occasions that the majority

would overrule the minority in favour of some special advantage to be obtained by a small group. This was due to the rigid party discipline imposed on the deputies by the different clubs. If members did not respect this discipline, that would result in their being driven out of political life altogether.

This way of working practically led to the predominance of an all-powerful official-class, although, according to the letter of the constitution, the Nationalrat was supposed to exercise supreme authority. In the course of this development even the army and civil service got to be subservient to political influences. This was a disturbing but, in the circumstances, inevitable development.

From time to time every parliament and party had to face the charge of corruption, another popular weapon in political controversy everywhere. In Austria as well, there was a great deal of talk about the "corruption" of the system and the "corruption" of democracy. Like other countries Austria experienced scandals which threw a dark shadow upon political life, besides bringing to daylight many a personal and material failure, and proving again how the greed of the individual can always contrive to secure personal profit by turning to account gaps in the existing system. As has been said, political marauders have always existed, and no party, no political philosophy has ever been immune from their activities. But to blame democracy as such for this state of things would be a manifest injustice.

Constantly, and with the utmost insistence, Seipel had called for the divorce between business and politics. Why it was never feasible to impose this distinction was due to the reasons, mentioned above, relating to the way candidates were nominated and to their activities afterwards as deputies. In acting as go-between and in "using influence" the member who took his tasks seriously spent a great deal of time on thankless tasks, besides being liable to be called a "door-knocker".

THE DECLINE OF PARLIAMENTARY INSTITUTIONS

If, then, apart from a few cases, the sweeping reproach of personal corruption was rather unjust, it cannot be denied that the system, as such, necessarily led to something bordering on corruption for practical party ends.

That was true of the bargaining so often needed to get vital measures through. As for this charge of bargaining, often brought publicly and with much ill-feeling against parliament, it was due to the impression that members took the easy middle line, did not stand up seriously for their principles, or at most put up an irrelevant mock-fight.

The necessities of government by coalition prevented the public from learning in every case on what conditions the different parties had agreed to give their support to one motion or another. This also gave rise to the suspicion of corruption, and the appointments to posts often led to similar reproaches.

It was a common event for the vote to run counter to the opinions previously voiced by deputies at public meetings. So it seemed natural to ask what some member or other, this or that group, had obtained in exchange for abandoning their opposition. Certainly they did not get any economic advantage, yet, on the other hand, the prospect of political openings in some greater or lesser field of responsibility was frequently made dependent on whether these deputies were prepared to sacrifice in good time the need for agitation to the exigencies of business.

And one might perhaps be allowed to add that the allegation levelled against the professional politician of graft and clinging to office has invariably been voiced in loudest tones by the very people who were most eager to get into parliament themselves. Had they succeeded in this, even through the overthrow of democracy and the substitution of the one-party state for the parliamentary system, then the valiant opponents of political professionalism might quickly have remembered Plato, who in his "Republic" had described politicians as the privileged class. One might then

have found a lot of arguments in favour of educating a special class of professional politicians.

Austria chose a different path, and on that account all this discussion has merely an historical interest for us to-day. And yet one thing is worth noting: the theory that the science of politics is the only thing in the world that need not be studied, that its secrets are to be fathomed and mastered by everyone from the start and as a matter of course, is surely as untrue to-day as it ever was. In this sense the rather extravagant ideas on the rule of philosophers in Plato's classical state deserve consideration even nowadays, especially if they help to correct J. J. Rousseau's teaching about the sovereignty of the people.

Besides, there is in this respect no prescription which is valid in every circumstance. Neither Plato nor Rousseau is able to serve us as a guide to-day. Goethe has said the right thing in one of his conversations with Eckermann: "What is good for a nation must spring from its own core and exigencies. Any attempt, therefore, to introduce reforms from outside, when the need of them is not rooted in the deep soul of the nation itself, is absurd."

In the ten years that lay between 1922 and 1932 there were constantly at work factors which anyone who surveyed the political conditions of the time must have interpreted as leading to an inevitable change, even though no one could quite say at first what form such change should take. A deep feeling of discontent had seized large parts of the nation, particularly the younger generation, and the craving for the new, for what was different, spread perceptibly. This tendency was not changed because those who clung to tradition would not look facts in the face or distrusted the prophets of reform. Young people felt instinctively that the most dynamic force in Austria—Seipel—had ideas resembling their own.

In the spring of 1927 new elections for the Nationalrat

were promulgated, and a group of young Tyroleans arranged to nominate me as a candidate of the Volkspartei, as the Tyrol Christian Socials were called.

I myself was at first rather indifferent in the matter because, as it happened, I had, since 1924, a happy home of my own, and the prospect of the repeated separations which political work in Vienna was bound to entail did not appeal to me very much. Moreover, I had been called to the bar a few months earlier, and that imposed upon me a great deal of professional work, particularly at the outset. Finally, it was just about this time that a well-known writer on cultural questions, writing in a Catholic monthly, had said: "Politics are to-day the little esteemed occupation of a little esteemed body of men."

On the other hand, politics and the prospect of a political career were nevertheless alluring to a man at that time still young. Anyhow, I never had in mind to become a politician by profession and to give up my own occupation. I fully realized from the start how difficult it would be to combine my legal work with my duties as a deputy. In this matter a disharmony could have arisen in my life, and that I was determined to prevent from the start.

In the Tyrol the advanced elements had got the upper hand in the ranks of the Volkspartei, and, without there being any obvious grounds for it, an almost complete change in its representatives in parliament was effectuated. By their self-sacrifice and integrity our Tyrolean predecessors in the Nationalrat had rendered excellent services, but the cry "Youth to the fore!" proved itself stronger than any other consideration. Our constituents at once expected us to perform miracles, and when, naturally, the miracles were not performed, we soon found ourselves also criticized from various sides as mere "scrap-iron".

Under the leadership of the well-proved peasant leader, Haueis, we new-elected members of the Volkspartei, together with the Pan-German Dr. Straffner and the Socialists Abram

and Scheibein, entered the new Nationalrat as representatives of the Tyrol. In our own ranks there was Dr. Thaler, then Minister of Agriculture, whom destiny has since led to the young Austrian settlement in Brazil known as Dreizehnlinden; Franz Steiner, captain of the Landsturm¹ in the Great War and then industrial leader; Dr. Franz Kolb, priest, professor and specialist in questions relating to the South Tyrol; and Dr. Kneussl, the local governor of East Tyrol.

The years that followed brought much work and many anxieties and disappointments. At the best not more than three days in the week could be devoted to the home, and these were frequently interrupted by political expeditions in my constituency, Sundays being often taken up in this way.

Yet I would not readily have missed these years of my initiation into politics, for without them it would have been extremely difficult for me to have borne my responsibilities in after years. The Christian Social Party Club in those days was admirably led and offered ample opportunities for the acquiring of political knowledge and experience; and for that reason as well as others I must always be indebted to many of my fellow-members. We recognized especially that we had hitherto taken politics far too lightly—after all, politics should not be looked on as a form of sport—and we discovered that problems, when seen near to, are, as a rule, quite different from what they appear at a distance. Moreover, we grew acquainted with the background of all such problems.

In the government, and, therefore, in the Christian Social Club, Chancellor Seipel ruled, then full of energy and vigour. We “freshmen” in whom the Chancellor showed the keenest interest did not always have an easy time, and we soon discovered that the right of free speech was not quite what we had pictured it to be.

I remember how one attempt I made to stand up to Seipel

¹ Second reserve. (*Translators' note.*)

THE DECLINE OF PARLIAMENTARY INSTITUTIONS

ended in a complete fiasco, though, as it happened, the Chancellor, by his decision, acknowledged I had been right as to facts. Even to-day I can recall exactly that the question had to do with the salary and pension rights of a small employee. Before the entire club I was given a stern lesson, thus learning how useful and indeed how necessary it is to control one's speech in public.

When I look back at that time, now more than ten years ago, the venerable image of Jodok Fink¹ rises up in memory. Even to-day his aspect commands respect, as indeed does the whole personality of this truly great and pure-hearted democrat and peasant leader. His skill as a negotiator, his expert knowledge and his authority were recognized without demur by every party, and everywhere there was respect for his exemplary personality.

Professor Alfred Gürtler, afterwards President of the Nationalrat, has also passed from us. He, too, was a democrat of a model kind, with astonishing gifts of intellect. Unsurpassed in the cut-and-thrust of satiric dialectics, and characterized by a certain wilfulness, this somewhat gruff, informal and in many ways eccentric party leader was a thoroughly original personality, never to be replaced by anyone else.

Naturally the members of the Seipel cabinet enjoyed particular esteem, and each of them could at that time boast of achievements well above the average. Vaugoin,² the creator of the new Austrian army, ought to be mentioned here first. Then there was Kienböck,³ the Finance Minister of that time, Richard Schmitz,⁴ the Minister of Education, Resch,⁵ the Minister of Social Welfare, and many others.

¹ Senior of the Tyrolean Christian Social politicians, for several years Vice-Chancellor.

² General Karl Vaugoin, for many years Minister of National Defence, Chancellor in 1930, retired from active politics under Dollfuss.

³ Dr. Viktor Kienböck, now President of the Austrian National Bank.

⁴ Richard Schmitz, now Mayor of Vienna.

⁵ Dr. Josef Resch, still Minister of Social Welfare in Dr. Schuschnigg's cabinet.

In those times of great strain each of these men acted as a helpful counsellor to the recruits who were to be associated with them in work for the nation. To Wilhelm Miklas,¹ the President of the Nationalrat at that time, we were especially grateful, for he never neglected an opportunity of facilitating, through his vast experience, the tasks of his new colleagues, and when the need arose he would readily spur them on by a word of praise or encouragement.

The picture of the club in the days of which I write would not be complete if I did not recall the few surviving Lueger² veterans. The actual portrait of the founder and first leader of the Christian Social Party dominated the club-room. Great memories and great deeds in the field of political conflict were embodied in the carefully tended Lueger tradition.

Of Lueger's associates, who did not grow weary even in that new epoch, Leopold Kunschak deserves to be mentioned first. Often attacked and often opposed he has remained the unchallenged mentor of the Christian Social workers movement in Austria. What Jodok Fink represented to the peasants, Leopold Kunschak was to the town workers; an upholder of democracy whose banner could be seen from afar, a man who was a little self-willed, yet, by his life's work, gave proof of capacity and earned for himself the reputation as a sincere and unflinching patriot. He was indeed a politician who, by his integrity, extreme modesty and the stainlessness of his life brought honour upon Austria.

Many another recollection of men and things keep vivid the remembrance of those days. I very soon got into touch with Dr. Anton Rintelen, who as the governor of Styria led his fellow Styrians into the Nationalrat. In long and exceedingly interesting conversations Rintelen in those days defined his attitude to the different contemporary issues and

¹ Wilhelm Miklas, actually President of Austria.

² See note on page 3.

always defended himself in lively fashion against the very dissimilar attacks made on him personally by political opponents. In all his utterances Rintelen showed himself a vigorous anti-Socialist. He displayed, too, some antagonism to Seipel, though the two men differed only as regards methods and tactics.

Rintelen was always aware that I and my close friends were ranged unconditionally behind Seipel's leadership. Of the tragic events with which Rintelen became entangled afterwards there will be no mention here.¹ Undoubtedly the governor of Styria ought to be numbered among the most interesting, striking and mobile characters in Austria's domestic politics. By calling, teacher of law in the University of Graz, he laid stress, in all circumstances, even when he was Minister, upon carrying out his tutorial duties, and more especially his work as an examiner, for he did not want to lose touch with his proper sphere of activity. For the rest, very striking talents, a certain hastiness and unrest with which was combined a marked desire to secure power, and an entire simplicity in his personal tastes, are among the conspicuous traits of his character as a politician.

Many people in those days must have gained the impression that with him a delight in political tactics was sometimes keener than the clear vision of what was actually to come. At all events Rintelen was invariably the man of constant motion whose temperament knew no repose. With him the telephone was the most vital necessity of daily life.

Foremost in his interests, even when he was Minister of Education, were questions of trade policy. The tempo of

¹ On July 25, 1934, the National Socialists started their tentative effort to overthrow the government, by proclaiming, over the radio, the resignation of Dollfuss and the establishment of a new government with Dr. Rintelen as Chancellor. Rintelen was immediately put under arrest, tried to commit suicide, was subsequently found guilty of high treason and sentenced to life-long imprisonment. The amnesty of February 1938 set him free again. (*Translators' note.*)

his work was a quite unusual one. In the crinkled and opaque drapery of a bygone classical age Anton Rintelen would have been the typical Peripatetic, to whom sitting at the table of negotiations or, indeed, staying in one spot for any length of time would seem a physical impossibility.

Whoever had a chance of observing this strange and, in his way, assuredly talented politician at close quarters, could not have failed to remark the astonishing adaption of his habits of life to the trend of his ideas and aims. During long sittings or conferences it was his practice to use up an uncanny number of matches, with which he set fire, in play, to notes, memoranda or other scraps of paper he might happen to have in his possession at the time. On that account Dollfuss jokingly called him a Pyromaniac.

To do justice to the full personality of Anton Rintelen, whose forebears came to Austria from the Rhineland and whose family have been responsible for great scientific achievements, some more peaceful epoch in the future will be needed. In the meantime present wounds must be healed up, and afterwards it will be possible to discover the light and shade interwoven so intriguingly in his somewhat demonic character. Then perhaps it will become evident that much that one was accustomed to interpret politically, in reality represented a psychological problem.

Besides colleagues in my own political club, work on parliamentary committees brought me into touch with members of other parties also. Veteran politicians of great merit in the Pan-German Party, like Dinghofer, Weber, Straffner and others who had beyond question rendered great service to the country, did what they could to promote smooth and fruitful co-operation, particularly at the time of Seipel. Among the Socialists, too, though I met with them only in their rôle as members of the opposition, I got to know many men, more particularly those belonging to the trade-union wing, who not only did good work and to the best of their ability for their cause, but who, as men, gave no occasion

for attack. In this connection I think especially of my fellow Tyrolean, Wilhelm Scheibin, now dead.

In general men worked side by side, against each other but scarcely ever together, and besides, there was the established abuse of securing support from abroad, and that, too, when the existence of the country was at stake. This abuse was not the least among those which accounted for the irresistible and inevitable decline of democracy in Austria.

In this manner government and parliament stood on opposite sides, despite the fact that the government was chosen for parliament. Certainly there was, on both sides, a fund of goodwill and the desire to solve problems constantly growing more complex; nor can it be contested that there was much personal ability and enthusiasm for work at hand. If, nevertheless, effort was vain and the interludes of stagnation followed on each other ever more swiftly, if parliament was not able to overcome the difficulties on whose overcoming the existence of the state depended, then such a condition of things could be interpreted only as a sign that the days of the system as such were numbered and that a new construction of the state, more particularly a fundamental reform of democracy and the parliamentary system, was urgently needed.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SCHOBER

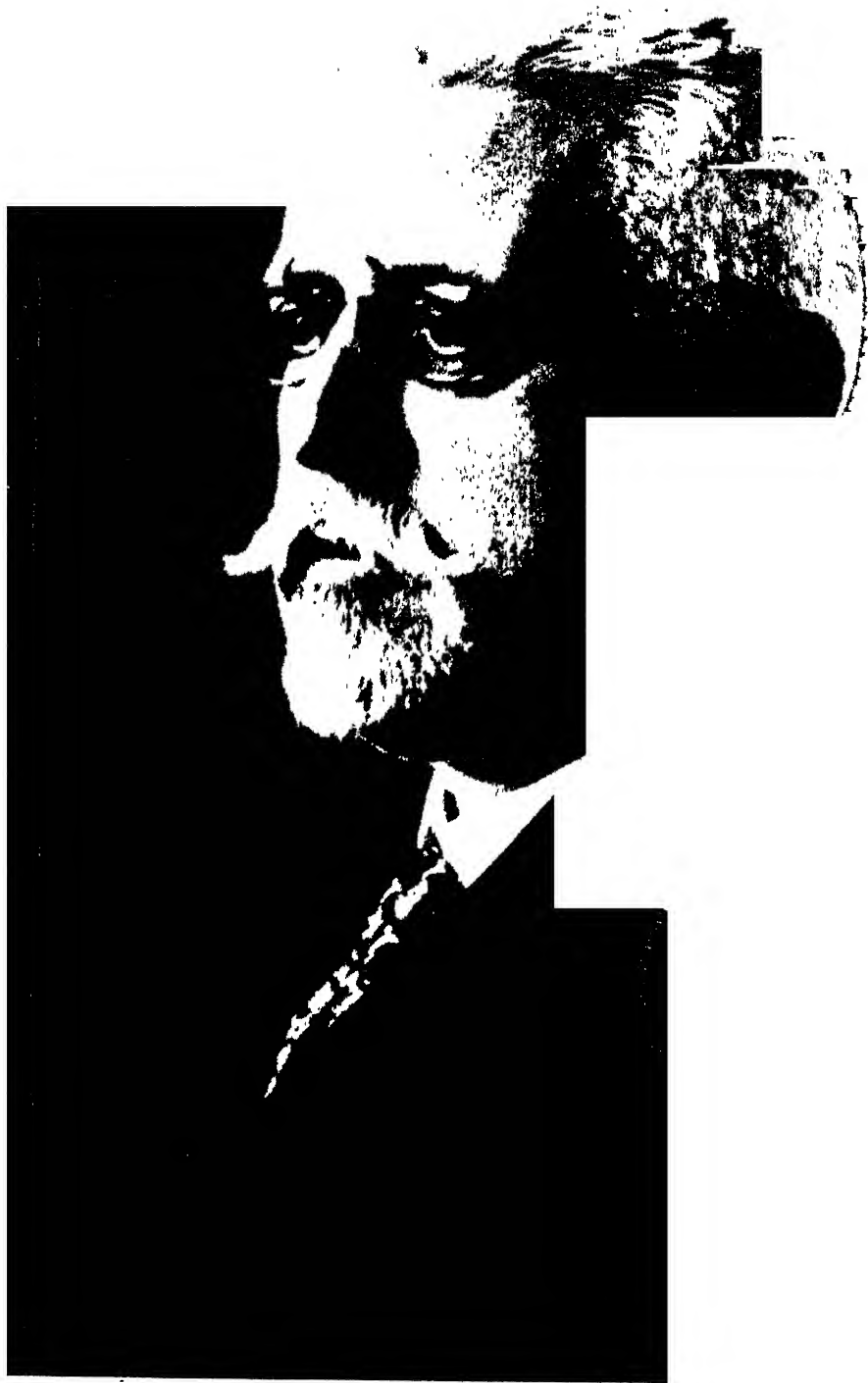
By a strange play of forces, Ignaz Seipel and Johannes Schober¹ both fell victim to disease within the same month of the year 1932, when both were in the prime of life. In days of crisis each had been at the helm of the state as head of the Austrian Government. Each had sacrificed his powers in the fight for Austria, each struggled for years to recover his strength, shattered by this effort, before he succumbed under the strain. Patriots mourned their loss.

By another remarkable coincidence the deaths of these two men opened the way for their successor, Engelbert Dollfuss, enabling him to take the essential first steps in the creation of another Austria.

About this time Dollfuss was fighting hard to obtain a parliamentary majority which would be prepared to approve the reconstruction loan, the conditions of which had been elaborated during a conference of the Great Powers at Lausanne. Parliament's decision on this issue was vital for the existence of the government and, therefore, for Dollfuss's work of reform.

Both Seipel and Schober were members of the Nationalrat, though they stood at that time on different sides. On Seipel's death his place in parliament was taken by another

¹ Dr. Johannes Schober (1874-1932) made a swift career as a police official before the War, was President of the Vienna police from 1918 on, became Chancellor in 1921 and, for a second time, in 1929, was Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister thereafter.



DR. JOHANNES SCHOBBER

E.N.A.

supporter of the government which got an additional vote as a consequence, for owing to his serious illness Seipel had not taken his seat in the House for some months. The death of Schober, too, created a parliamentary vacancy, but in his case the vacancy was filled by a member of the Agricultural League, a party loyal to the government, and not by a member of the Pan-Germans who were then in opposition.

In this way these two statesmen, so totally opposed to each other in every way, by their death influenced for good the destiny of the Fatherland to which they had devoted their lives.¹

No doubt Schober differed fundamentally in all questions of politics from Seipel, and one should not attempt to compare him with the latter, if his portrait and the appraisal of his character are not to suffer. The essential distinction between the two men lay in the fact that Schober was a government official through and through, whereas Seipel was the authentic statesman, though in the soutane of a priest. Schober approached the tasks of government as a practical man, whereas Seipel's attitude was always that of the man of science. Schober never recognized any hard-and-fast principles, exempt from fluctuations and tactical requirements, whereas Seipel stood for a more dogmatic attitude even in politics. Schober, having been a police official, would stress the factors of power, authority and order, whilst Seipel, on the other hand, attached more importance to the organic forms and sociological values of a properly constituted state and society.

Both men had in common the readiness to sacrifice themselves in the service of the people and country, and though their outlooks and emotional reactions differed as well as their practical opinions, as Austrians their hearts beat in the

¹ In both cases to which the author refers, the division of votes and thus the destiny of the Dollfuss cabinet depended on *one* vote in the Nationalrat. Thus the government was saved successively by the death of Seipel and then of Schober. (*Translators' note.*)

same rhythm. As a result their ideas in national issues were not at all so dissimilar as the public was often inclined to think. Seipel put greater emphasis on Austria's mission for Germanism, Schober on the mission of Germanism for Austria.

Johannes Schober had won an international reputation as a police expert. The outset of his career was marked, as he liked to recount, by a particularly delicate task that led him, in the days of the Emperor Francis Joseph, as a young police officer on the staff of the Vienna police headquarters, to Marienbad, where King Edward VII of England was staying. His thorough knowledge of the English language proved then, as often later, useful to the young police official, who achieved promotion rapidly. At the time of the revolution he held the difficult and responsible position of President of the Vienna police, in which capacity he was taken over by the young Republic. In those critical days Schober rendered great service to the state.

As successor to Chancellor Michael Mayr he became the head of the government himself, for the first time, in the year 1921, but after one year of office he was defeated on a question of foreign policy in May 1922 (on account of having closed the Treaty of Lana with Czechoslovakia), when the Pan-Germans carried a vote of no confidence, urging national considerations for their attitude.

Seven years later, in the autumn of 1929, Schober became Chancellor again and held office as head of the government for a year, afterwards serving for another year as Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister under Chancellors Ender and Buresch, who held office in succession. This was the time when the tide was turning and when it had become clear that democracy and parliamentary government were approaching a deadlock.

Schober felt himself to be, above all, a servant of the state, and this he frequently emphasized. With his urbane ways and his affability, his untiring zeal for work and an ambition

for achievement, the head of the Vienna police was the model of an Austrian official of the old school. It would be unjust to reproach him for wishing the public to recognize his good work; and his strong susceptibility to criticism was nothing else than the equivalent of his own meticulously correct manner of thinking and speaking, for he expected everyone to be as conscientious in his judgments as he himself was.

His profession as head of the police gave him no little knowledge and understanding of men. His winning manners secured him respect and love on all sides. He was devoted to the public service and regarded the police, of which he was the head, as the very apple of his eye. They owe him a deep debt of gratitude, for he was not only a jealous guardian of the traditions and efficiency of the force, but he extended their influence and activities and was always deeply concerned with the personal welfare of even the youngest constable.

Never was he really at home in politics or with politicians, this being particularly clear in the last years of his life. During his second term of office as Chancellor he strongly emphasized the distance separating him from parties and partisanship, and he showed the importance he attached to being looked upon as the official who had become a statesman, and not as a politician. His contacts with the parties in parliament were limited to the strictly necessary. In his cabinet there was only one representative of each majority party and he liked to underline the fact that he was the head of a ministry not of politicians but of experts; this ministry had been announced to the public as a non-political cabinet of personalities.

My own activity as a member of the Nationalrat brought me into personal touch with him on two occasions which were entirely different yet, in some way, connected with each other. Our first meeting was of a casual nature and took place in the stormy days of July 1927, when, on the second

day of the grave disorders in Vienna, I went with Dr. Rintelen to the Police Presidency on the Schottenring.

The tragic events of those days are still vivid in my memory, despite all that has happened since. In a trial by a jury prisoners had been acquitted who had, during a parade of ex-combatants at Schattendorf in the Burgenland, fired at some counter-demonstrators. There had been two fatalities, one being a member of the Socialist Schutzbund.¹ The prisoners had pleaded self-defence, and the jurymen acquitted them, just as they did, earlier and later, in dozens of non-political cases. The outcome of this trial set afoot a demand, which was justified, for the reform of Austrian criminal procedure and the question was raised again and again, for a series of miscarriages of justice committed by juries had offended the country's sense of justice. But, as it happened, the Socialists opposed this demand on purely theoretical grounds and it was not possible to carry through the reform in a parliamentary fashion.

The verdict of acquittal in July 1927, afterwards known as the "Schattendorf Verdict", was given by the Vienna Criminal Court on the Alserstrasse, and by way of revenge an angry mob set fire to the Civil Law Court building on the Schmerlingplatz, which had nothing whatever to do with the trial.

From the House of Parliament, which faces the Law Court, I was an eyewitness of what happened, and I am able to confirm from personal experience that the disaster, which might have become even graver than it was, could have apparently been avoided if the government had acted and opposed its armed forces to the raging mob in time. But such intervention was not allowed by the laws then in force, for the police was under the direct control of the Socialist Mayor of Vienna, who refused to give the necessary orders.

¹ "Republikanischer Schutzbund" was the name of the Austrian Socialist armed formations which later on, in February 1934, waged an open fight against the government forces.

Police action, when it did occur, was belated, a fact which resulted in heavy loss on both sides. Had the authorities been able, in good time, to make it clear how grave the situation was, most of those demonstrators who eventually paid with their lives for the folly of their leaders, might have escaped. The police acted with great energy and paid a heavy toll in blood, thus saving the capital from consequences that might have been incalculable.

Although the Socialist leaders had by no means wished and encouraged the tumult, they did their best to protect the fanatics guilty of the excesses. They imagined the time was come when they could drive Seipel and his detested government from power. So they called a general transport strike. In particular the Socialists swore revenge against Schober, then Police-President and responsible for the energetic action of the armed forces. He was denounced in the huge headlines in the Socialist evening newspapers as "blood-stained tyrant" and "assassinator of the workers". Here again the style of some of the newspapers of that day must be borne in mind if the reform, afterwards, of the Austrian press law is to be understood.

In an editorial published on July 8, 1927, the Socialist *Arbeiter-Zeitung* violently attacked Chancellor Seipel on the ground that his regime "was to blame for the explosion of resentment by the workers" and because "his administration was responsible for the orgy of police atrocities".

The Socialist Party leaders and the leaders of the trade unions, in an appeal they issued, first admitted there had been mob elements among the demonstrators. "We do not deny," they wrote, "that some hundreds of rowdies mingled among the big crowds of demonstrators and contributed to the great catastrophe. Were we not compelled to see how undisciplined, reckless boys dared to offer violent resistance even to our Schutzbund when they were performing their duties with immense self-sacrifice? We do not deny that these several hundred youths committed undignified actions

which the workers would not countenance."

The appeal ended thus: "The strength of the proletariat lies in their economic power, in the fact that all wheels must come to a standstill when our strong arm wants it. To be able to hold up the transport of the nation is labour's strongest weapon. This is the means of fight we shall make use of first."

Finally, in an editorial of August 2, 1937, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* proclaimed its new "Away from Rome" movement. In an attack upon Seipel these words occur: "The people have lived to see a Catholic priest having unarmed citizens shot down and women and children killed in the streets of the city. . . ."

In this fashion the Socialists, who were bent upon securing a political success, committed the fatal mistake of putting the workers on a level with mob elements they themselves had denounced. They further adopted the tactics, previously used by another movement for totally different purposes, of launching a movement against the Church.

Well, on that July 16th, while Vienna was still trembling with horror and fear and every means of transport was at a standstill, I had two meetings which I still recall with vividness. Together with Rintelen I had walked first to the Chancellery on the Ballhausplatz, and leaving there we met Count Lerchenfeld, the German Minister in Vienna, a man who enjoyed great popularity in political quarters. The Minister expressed his apprehension as to the situation, and urged us not to make political capital out of the tragic happenings. It was, he said, clearly not a prearranged political outbreak but rather a regrettable incident, the importance of which should not be exaggerated or misrepresented.

But just then the leaders of the Socialist Party had called upon the Chancellor to resign because it was impossible in any other way, they claimed, to restore order and calm. . . .

Afterwards, at the office of the President of police, we

found Schober at his desk going over reports he had just received on the situation. He was working with his habitual self-reliance and calm. He viewed the situation hopefully, but showed himself very embittered at the attacks which newspapers were making on him personally. Upon the whole I got the impression that he was in control of the situation and that, very definitely, the right man was in the right place.

Two years later my political work brought me into closer and longer touch with him, then Chancellor. The events of the year 1927 had continued to work upon the public mind and had given an impetus to the forces determined to do away with the system of parliamentary democracy, in which they no longer saw a suitable type of state organization. A thorough reform of the constitution was the first stage contemplated. Under Chancellor Streeruwitz,¹ Schober's predecessor in office, a comprehensive law for the reform of the constitution had been drafted. Schober took over the measure and, after making a few alterations, placed it before the Nationalrat. In his speech introducing the bill he pointed out that parliament was faced, in a critical hour, with a task of paramount importance. Public opinion as a whole, he said, imperatively demanded the reform of the constitution, the purpose of which was to create a real and healthy democracy and to open new ways for parliamentary action.

I was appointed *rapporteur* on this motion, and so was in a position to watch at close quarters what happened to the bill. Its aim, in short, was on one hand to promote the systematic reform of the parliamentary system and on the other to strengthen in decisive fashion the authority of the state by rendering the government less dependent upon the political situation of the moment. Therefore the President of the Republic was in future not to be elected by the

¹ Ernst v. Streeruwitz, Chancellor in 1929, now President of the Austrian Chamber of Commerce.

Nationalrat but by a general plebiscite. He was to be given far-reaching powers, among them the right to dissolve the Nationalrat, to appoint the government, and the supreme command of the army. Further, the right of promulgating emergency decrees was to be put into the hands of the President within clearly defined limitations and for exceptional cases only. Special regulations were proposed for a "state of emergency", and it was also intended to centralize the administration of the police. The law courts were to be made wholly free of political influences and, finally, the constitutional position of the city of Vienna was to be changed, the reform of the jury system undertaken and the press laws amended. Moreover, the measure gave expression, for the first time, to the idea of corporative representation. Thus the Federal Council, which consisted of representatives of the provinces, was to be replaced by a council representing the "provinces and corporations". The bill did not include the details about the future structure of this new legislative body, but limited itself to the formulation of principles.

From the start it was obvious that this measure would cause a keen fight in parliament. On the one side the extra-parliamentary forces, the Home Defence League (Heimwehr), very popular since 1927, were pressing for a speedy and extreme solution, claiming that Schober had made them binding promises in the matter, whilst on the other side the Socialists were defending their political position and seemed (more particularly as regards Vienna) unwilling to yield as much as an inch of their power.

Still, it was a sign of general recognition of the necessities and changes of the time that the Socialists should enter into negotiations with the government at all, for it would have been impossible to get this constitutional law through without a two-thirds majority; for the Chancellor, in his conversations with the party leaders, had definitely repudiated the idea of applying force for the purpose. Nor, indeed,

would there have been a majority on the government side for any solution based on force.

The discussions on the bill, left to a parliamentary committee, were difficult and prolonged, lasting for weeks. Every day brought a new situation, for besides the discussions in committee negotiations took place between the Chancellor and the spokesman of the Socialists, Dr. Danneberg, a politician who fought hard against the more drastic aspects of the government's proposals.

At length both sides met at a middle point of compromise. A few important clauses of the government bill were carried, the Socialists being ready to let their votes go towards the two-thirds majority needed, but for other equally important clauses no such majority could be obtained, and the law as originally projected by the government had to be given up.

Upon the whole the debate left the Socialist political strongholds unshaken, more particularly as regards their domination over the city of Vienna, though it should be added in justice that no other result was to be reached by parliamentary methods, and that a non-parliamentary solution was out of the question. On the whole, therefore, the Chancellor had done his best to bring about what was, after all, a fairly satisfactory solution.

On neither side, however, did the result give much pleasure. The forces outside parliament showed themselves rather disappointed, and within parliament itself opinions differed greatly. The outcome of the reform was that the Austrian constitution had in its chief aspects become assimilated to the Weimar constitution of the German Reich, an advance, to be sure, compared with the previous state of affairs, characterized by that peculiar Austrian feature of an over-emphasized and exclusive parliamentary rule.

From this dramatic political period I have retained in memory two incidents, unimportant in themselves but in their way not without significance.

At the height of the controversy in committee a retired

military officer of high rank whom I knew during the War came to see me in my private room at the House, having first rung me up. This ardent patriot, dead now for several years, was a gentleman to his finger-tips, and had never been in direct contact with politics. When he saw me he explained that his visit was of great importance, and obtained my word that I would treat it as strictly confidential.

He informed me that several hundred men, all ex-soldiers and now members of the home-defence movement, were ready at any moment to occupy the House of Parliament, eliminate the political parties, and thereby bring about a change of constitution by force. He added that they were waiting for a hint from me as to when they should strike.

I pointed out to him, of course, that I thought the plan a pure fantasy, that they could expect no assistance from me, and, finally, I got his promise that he and his friends would undertake nothing without my knowledge. As a result no attempt whatever was made to interfere with the work of parliament.

I mention this incident not because I regarded it as very important at the time, but as illustrating the excitement then prevailing among many sections of the population, and which would have led to rash acts, had the parliamentary debates been protracted. The incident occurred in the late autumn of 1929.

The second episode also throws an effective light upon the situation at that time and related to the plan to eliminate, while the constitution was being revised, the so-called "Habsburg laws". One remembers how, in the first wild extravagances of revolution, the estates of the Imperial House had been expropriated by means of a constitutional law, not only property belonging to the Crown, but also property that belonged to the Imperial Family in their private capacity being seized.

On the ground of the various expert opinions which justified my doubts as to the legality of those laws, and with

the support of several political friends, I had tried to get the law in question rescinded.

At first I informed the Chancellor of my plan when I visited him one night in his office. Chancellor Schober, who had been in conference throughout the afternoon, listened kindly to what I said, and then suddenly he took me by the arm and led me from his office to an adjoining room. There he showed me a photograph of the Imperial Family with their signatures, and remarked: "Her Majesty sent me this photograph as a token of remembrance when I was appointed Chancellor."

He added that he showed it to me in order that I might see how he, an old official of the Dual Monarchy, felt on the point under discussion and what his general attitude to the monarchist question was. He said I should strive to get the consent of the other parties of the coalition to the proposal to rescind the law. But the effort failed, since at a subsequent conference of representatives of the majority parties the idea was rejected, without the government expressing any official opinion.

I readily admit that the words of the Chancellor made a deep impression upon me. I personally would have liked the matter to have been raised, at least by the coalition parties, during the debate on the revision of the constitution. After ten years of republican rule the two aspects of the question relating to the Imperial House should no longer have been confused—the political and the judicial aspect in regard to the rights of property.

Still, I shall always hold in grateful remembrance my time of collaboration with Chancellor Schober. I came to esteem him as a man and as an Austrian, and the events which occurred after the year 1930 could not affect this feeling. Ex-Chancellor Schober, annoyed at certain political developments, then became the leader of the "National Economic Block" and opposed Chancellor Vaugoin, his successor.

FAREWELL AUSTRIA

In that, too, I do not doubt he was animated by the best intentions. It is my conviction that he felt his position as a political leader alien to his nature, and that he was anxious, at times, to end his contract as a "star performer" in the House of Parliament, a part which did not suit his character and drove him down paths where his memory easily might have been lost in twilight.

CHAPTER NINE

FORCES OUTSIDE PARLIAMENT

A LONG time before the declining influence of parliament had clearly manifested itself, and the crisis of democracy had become a favourite topic of conversation—indeed, very soon after the upheaval—there had become active those extra-parliamentary elements which many years later grew into a powerful political force.

A number of causes go to explain the self-defence movement, at whose cradle the ex-combatants stood—so far as Vienna was concerned: in the provinces the Heimwehr became its nucleus numerically and with regard to political influence.

First of all, quite apart from considerations of domestic policy in the narrow sense, it was a military consideration which brought into being these formations of armed volunteers. By the Peace Treaty compulsory service was forbidden and the military forces of the state were reduced to a level that was scarcely adequate. Nevertheless, the desire for military preparedness, more particularly in the Alpine lands, was deeply rooted in the character of the people. In the end this desire led to the formation of home-defence formations in the different provinces. Then there was the necessity of calling up volunteers to take part in the defence of the frontiers in the various conflicts which broke out in the first post-War years, as in Carinthia, where the armed volunteers protected the threatened border under the military command

of the then governor, now General Hülgerth, later on commander-in-chief of the Militia and Vice-Chancellor.

The "Heimatschutz" of Carinthia had thus been one of the first and most reliable pillars of the genuine self-defence movement, and even during the first years of its existence it had earned the gratitude of the country, gratitude that could not be exaggerated.

The second reason for the strengthening of this movement had to do with considerations of home policy. There had come an unenviable reaction to new institutions such as "Workers' and Soldiers' Councils" with their suspicious resemblance to Communist ideology, a reaction to the Socialist claim to control the streets, as it was boisterously voiced in the first years after the revolution, more particularly in the big cities. There was a feeling of revolt against the systematic derision and uprooting of everything that suggested tradition, against the constant mobilization of the Socialist masses.

The situation, after all, was not such that everyone who thought on lines different from the prevailing fashion of the revolutionary period could be condemned to lasting silence. Rather did the more conservative elements learn to realize that speeches and newspaper articles would not suffice to resist at length to the pressure from the Left. So they closed the ranks and began to march, though at first these demonstrations generally took place without the demonstrators carrying arms.

In the course of time another reason which increased the need for a self-defence movement came into prominence, and that was a consideration of a more sociological nature. To overcome the class struggle and the disruptive influence of the trade union movement in the factories a number of big industrialists, more particularly the Alpine Montan-Gesellschaft,¹ began to organize their workers and clerical

¹ Austria's biggest mining and steel-producing concern. (*Translators' note.*)

staffs into works branches of the Heimatschutz, the aim being thus to promote the political unity within the factory. In order to attain the same end, independent trade unions were afterwards started. These organizations were bitterly denounced as "yellow" or "employers'" trade unions by the Socialists and were also opposed by the other working-class organizations.

There is no doubt that the Heimwehr or Heimatschutz movement—the two descriptions were eventually used in the same sense and adopted indiscriminately by the different provinces—embodied a really sane idea. The movement was necessary and indispensable and, notwithstanding that it had its shady side, rendered great service to people and country.

Every Austrian will arrive at this conclusion, if he views the political evolution with impartiality and avoids the temptation to lose his sound judgment over a great deal of accompanying details, omissions and deficiencies.

Above all, it should not be forgotten that this movement, as every other form of political organization, was the expression of the age in which it arose. Therefore, when it committed the error of supposing it was an end in itself, that was a sign it had passed the zenith of its power and influence. That this is true of every political organization has been proved most eloquently by the history of Austrian Socialism.

It is surely idle to-day to ask to whom belongs the palm for having recognized first the compelling necessity of the hour—who, in respect of the home-defence movement, first raised the rallying cry, whether the Carinthians, Styrians or Tyroleans. The creation of the Heimwehr had everywhere a special local importance, but in the end it was, after all, the outcome of a situation and development common to all, and this brought the various territorial groups of the movement together in the course of time.

In the measure that the Socialist Schutzbund came to the fore as an instrument of brutal force, so, on the other side, did the Heimwehr movement loom ever larger as a political

factor. Thus the time came, by all means regrettable, yet, in the nature of things, inevitable, when the armed political groups of the country faced each other, each animated by the determination at all costs to be the stronger and better armed so as to remain masters of the battle-field in the hour of decision.

From the moment when these two armed camps existed it was only a question of time before a spark would set fire to the accumulated explosives of long-excited passions. All this was part of the tragedy of a lost war; yet the self-protection movement was also, despite of everything, a chapter in the heroic history of a nation which, notwithstanding economic need and misery, in spite of exaggerated political antagonisms and the total lack for a long time of any real patriotic feeling for the new state, still fought for its independence and the freedom of its soil.

Obviously, deep causes, political and psychological, accounted for the Austrian self-defence movement as well as for the inevitable course of its subsequent history, with the variations in its importance to the country.

A critical attitude or judgment has been avoided in what I am going to say, as not being in harmony with the frame of this book. In particular, I have set myself the task of going into the complex history of the movement with its often heterogeneous tendencies and dramatic episodes only in so far as such an investigation is required for a proper understanding of the movement's political significance. I purposely avoid taking up an attitude in the question of leadership, as I regard it as unimportant in the long run, considering the problem as a whole. The significance of the self-defence movement for Austria, its influence and successes are, when the movement is contemplated in its entirety, not lessened by any attendant circumstances.

It was at Innsbruck that soon after the revolution the "Einwohnerwehren" (Citizens' Defence Corps) were started in the first instance, with Dr. Richard Steidle as their leader.

FORCES OUTSIDE PARLIAMENT

Their task was to see to the restoration of order in the event of plunderings and demonstrations with violence, apt to occur from time to time even as late as in the year 1920; for the army could scarcely be used in such cases and the police were too weak numerically and not adequately armed.

These *Einwohnerwehren* afterwards grew into the Tyrol *Heimwehr*, which had a big following in town and country-side and in whose ranks all came without exception who were not Socialist in outlook. I have still in my possession the green-white armlet I wore at that time as a member of the organization.

Richard Steidle was then a member of the Tyrol provincial government and played a prominent part in the Peasants League. In the critical times after the War he had displayed dauntless energy on repeated occasions and remarkable courage besides, so that he had an assured body of supporters throughout the Tyrol and more particularly among the peasants. Richard Steidle was a fiery and unusually forceful mass-orator, who in due course became one of the best and most successful political agitators the non-Socialist parties have ever had in Austria.

I heard him for the first time a few years after the War, just at the start of his public career, at a meeting at Innsbruck where he was the chief speaker. In particular he counted university students among his adherents, whilst ex-soldiers and Tyrolean marksmen obeyed his call also.

In the critical year of 1927 the *Heimwehr* of the Tyrol, which had made headway slowly and steadily and had, from an earlier day, been in close contact with the Bavarian *Einwohnerwehr*, had reached quite remarkable strength. There were as a rule no squabbles within the movement; its character as an organization for self-defence was maintained and a strictly non-party attitude was adhered to.

The events of July 1927 put a practical task before the *Heimwehr* for the first time, and this task was performed without any serious friction occurring. It involved taking

measure against the transport strike, in the course of which Heimwehr, co-operating with the military and gendarmes, had to occupy some important railway stations in the Austrian provinces. The measures taken met with a complete success, and the transport strike, which might have caused immeasurable damage to the whole of the national industry, besides aggravating the political tension, collapsed almost at once.

After that, the self-defence movement entered upon a fresh and decisive phase of its history, for, in the course of the years that followed, it took part in political controversy more openly and with a very definite programme. It had served the state in an hour of crisis and it now came forward as a political force.

That was the time when Chancellor Seipel, too, began to occupy himself closely with this forceful, active and increasing movement, and he did so the more readily because he had always been on terms of sympathy with its leaders.

The grounds for such sympathy were obvious. Seipel recognized in the deliverance of the land from the dangers of Bolshevism the task of the hour. I, personally, do not believe that the great mass of the Socialist workers, more particularly in the provinces, were really to be won for Bolshevism, but their leaders then, as previously, played dangerously with fire and outbid one another in growing extremism, a policy to which they had been true since the revolution of 1918.

The constant state of crisis within the parliament turned out to be a crisis of the parliamentary system as such and led to a complete lack of confidence among those parts of the population which had been dissatisfied with prevailing political conditions. Curiously, National Socialism at that time played hardly any part at all in Austria, despite the fact that our country had given birth to the movement.

Thus the government saw itself compelled to reckon with the fresh and growing forces gathered together in the home-

FORCES OUTSIDE PARLIAMENT

defence movement, and, in turn, the government extended to this movement a great deal of moral support.

The word "anti-terror" was then coined, and by it was meant that the use of violence in politics could no longer be tolerated without protest but had to be met, should the need arise, with the threat of counter-violence. The claim of the Socialists to the exclusive possession of the street, their pretension to the monopoly of public demonstrations, had to be broken, so that in this way expression might be found for the real state of political power in Austria. The idea was to destroy, once and for all, the false impression of Austria being "red" through and through, an impression which had until then been created by the method of answering the Socialist mailed-fist-policy only with smooth words and a perpetual readiness to compromise.

In parliament, regardless of all differences in outlook, Christian Socials, Pan-Germans and Agricultural League had come to an agreement among themselves for the sake of the defence of their common political aims; correspondingly, the extra-parliamentary movement of the Heimatschutz tried to co-ordinate the anti-Socialist forces in the different camps and to bring them under a common leadership. This movement, however, had a definitely offensive purpose in view.

It was then all a question whether it would be possible, despite the differences of opinion existing, to get a common front upon an essential issue, to put aside divisions and agree upon a common rallying cry. At this point difficulties cropped up almost at once, difficulties which later on caused repeated splits in the movement.

In justice it must be admitted that the task of maintaining unity was very difficult and became constantly more so as the movement spread. I even doubt whether the problem was to be solved at all on the basis of the volunteer system and the free play of political forces. It depended on whether convinced monarchists and equally convinced extreme

nationalists, devout Catholics and aggressive anti-Clericals, enthusiastic believers in the corporative system and equally convinced upholders of individualism, people with a Fascist outlook and anti-Fascists, could be kept in line together.

Even if this were possible in the case of the rank-and-file, difficulties were bound to arise soon among the leaders. Whilst the high command of the movement, according to the state of things then prevailing, adopted the watchword of unqualified unity and repeatedly insisted on the urgency of unconditional discipline, among leaders of the middle and subordinate ranks and in various district branches temperaments frequently clashed. Very often, as is naturally the case with every movement of volunteers, personal ambition also played a prominent part. Further, in many departments there was a certain political inexperience which sought to settle every problem in a purely military way. Finally, defective knowledge of how to manage people may also have been, now and then, the cause of unnecessary friction.

The stronger the determination of the Heimwehr became to take the offensive politically, and the more frequently they expressed their intention to capture the power of the state, the more did the political parties begin to fear for their own position. The cleavage grew all the more pronounced when, in 1929, the leaders of the Heimwehr, meeting at Korneuburg, proclaimed their pretension to totality. Afterwards, in the elections of 1930, a part of the Heimwehr decided to put forward their own candidates as a political party, and thus the movement entered into open competition with the parliamentary parties.

Symptomatic of the situation of that time was the effort to promote an alliance between the Heimwehr and the N.S.D.A.P., a plan which broke down on the excessive demands of the National Socialists, who, from the start, claimed three-quarters of the seats that might result from running joint candidates for parliament. The National Socialists then went to the poll with their own candidates

but did not gain a single seat; and even the Heimatblock, as the political party of the Heimwehr was called, was only able to win in all eight seats.

Opinions must differ whether it was wise or useful, from their own standpoint, for the self-defence movement to put up their own candidates for parliament. For the time being that decision doubtless meant a split in the bourgeois camp, but it became evident afterwards that the presence of the Heimwehr in the Nationalrat was of decisive importance at critical times. Indeed, without that group Engelbert Dollfuss would probably never have been able to form his cabinet. This, of course, is only true under the assumption that not all the seats of the Heimatblock had been won at the expense of the other government parties.

Anyhow, in the petty warfare of domestic politics the difficulties were at that time considerable, and action in the interest of compromise and appeasement, more particularly by Seipel and his friends, was needed again and again to overcome the excitement, which bubbled up whenever a Heimwehr speaker or other threw down the gauntlet too impetuously or made a speech, as was sometimes the case, in the form of personal attacks. On the other hand it was unavoidable that if some small local agitator or other of the movement let himself go on clericalism the whole Heimwehr should be suspected of anti-clericalism, though its leaders were at great pains to avoid every appearance of taking up a one-sided attitude. At the same time an oratorical slip by a Christian Social party official was enough to inflame minds on the Heimwehr side.

More particularly in working-class circles did controversy more and more assume violent forms, and as is usually the case in political debate, each side was in the right to a certain extent. The Christian workers were justified when they insisted that the claim of the self-defence movement to have fought the fight against Bolshevism alone could not be maintained historically, since from the critical times follow-

ing the revolution onwards the Christian labour organizations had, and often enough at personal and material sacrifice, defended their positions against oncoming Socialism. The Heimwehr, on their side, were not at fault when they pointed out that this fight had not met with success and that the Christian labour organizations alone were not in a position to defeat Socialism decisively.

If one adds to this the consideration that various influences and interests were at work behind the scenes, then it is easy to understand how the public must have gained an impression of disunity and lack of definite aims.

But all that did not alter the fact that the Heimwehr was the first movement which spoke of overcoming the delusive forms of the Austrian democratic system and which further inscribed on its banners the determination to wage war upon an exaggerated parliamentarism. They even represented with considerable vigour the idea of a corporate state, though that idea had not been clearly thought out or put into definite shape.

Precisely as regards the reform of society, the Heimwehr found an eloquent advocate in Ignaz Seipel, who dedicated the last years of his life to working for this reform along the lines laid down in the Papal encyclical "*Quadragesimo anno*",¹ though he never implied he was prepared to enter into political partnership with the home-defence movement.

At the turn of the year 1930 the difficulties in the movement, in the Tyrol as well as in other provinces, came to a head. The "ideological" differences found vent, a one-sided increase of influence on the part of prominent industrialists occurred, whilst, in addition, the movement, at least in the towns, became split into different tendencies as the result of rivalling leadership.

¹ "*Quadragesimo anno*", encyclical letter by Pope Pius XI, issued in 1931 and establishing the attitude of the Catholic Church towards the social problems of the present time, according to the principles laid down forty years earlier by Leo XIII in his encyclical "*Novarum rerum*".

That was why a certain lethargy spread among valuable parts of the population, particularly among the youth, who had the idea of self-defence greatly at heart but wanted to separate it from the squabbles of parties and leaders.

This led to the establishment of several other organizations which only in the course of the following years again came together with the Heimatschutz.

In the first instance were founded the "Ostmärkische Sturmscharen",¹ to whom I myself stood godfather, and whose task it was to assemble young, active Austrians, sharing the same religious creed, in order to wage an uncompromising fight for an exclusively Austrian policy. The first leaflet of the new movement bore the double-eagle,² long years before this symbol became the arms of the state again.

The creation of the Sturmscharen took place at a time when it was urgent to bring about an unequivocal and clear Young Austria movement which would resolutely oppose the Pan-German tendencies, repudiating all idea of concessions. Had the Heimwehr at that time taken up this idea in the Tyrol, or had it not, at least, abandoned the non-party attitude it once favoured, and, more especially, stood to a man and with a clear purpose in the Austrian front, there would have been no Sturmscharen at all afterwards.

It was not until the chancellorship of Dollfuss, much later, that the Heimwehr returned to its former Austrian policy. The critical phase of its evolution was by that time over, but as in the meantime other organizations had been

¹ "Ostmärkische Sturmscharen", verbally translated "Storm-Squads of the Eastern Marches", militant organization of Catholic youths, founded by Kurt v. Schuschnigg. It played an important part in the stormy events of 1934, as the most reliable volunteer force on the side of the government. Like all the other volunteer formations the "Sturmscharen", as an independent organization, was also dissolved later on and embodied in the "Patriotic Front".

² The double eagle, symbol of the Austrian Monarchy, was abolished by the republic in 1918, but subsequently re-established by the Dollfuss government as the arms of the Federal State. (*Translators' notes.*)

started and had gained strength, complete uniformity unfortunately was never to be achieved again.

An interesting history lies behind the idea of the *Sturmscharen* movement in Austria. On the occasion of a trip made for propaganda purposes by young Tyrolean theatre players in the Rhineland, the leader of the lads, a war invalid and teacher, Hans Bator by name, recipient of the golden medal for bravery, was taken with the idea of organizing in Austria on the lines of the Catholic youth organizations he had just seen in Western Germany groups of politically alert young men, whom he proposed to call *Sturmscharen*.

When he returned home we decided first of all to work out his plan on a small scale. The idea first met with scant sympathy, even among our own friends. I remember very well how, on the occasion of a sports meeting of Catholic youth at Innsbruck, a Vienna official to whom I spoke of the *Sturmscharen*, emphasizing the necessity of infusing new life in the old historic imperial idea of Austria and carrying out a pronounced Austrian policy, said with a pitying chuckle something like this: That we ought not to lose ourselves in an eccentric romanticism, out of tune with the times. This remark was made as recently as the year 1930.

Among young people, however, the Storm-Squad movement caught on rapidly. After a relatively short time it underwent its baptism of fire. That was when rival students' bands tried to break up a meeting of the Storm-Squads in the Innsbruck Town Hall, the pretext for the irruption being that the Storm-Squads were alleged to display a monarchist and therefore anti-national tendency (anti-national in the Pan-German sense).

I was the speaker on that occasion, and my subject was "Is there a legitimist danger in Austria?" In my address I argued there could be no question of any such danger, and that one must at last get rid of the theory that there was

necessarily a conflict between the idea of Austria and the German national idea. I maintained that it was the duty of the young generation in Austria to serve the German culture by stressing its Austrian aspect, and that the new movement must continue to strive for a peaceful union of monarchists and non-monarchists within its ranks. This should be achieved by generally acknowledging and understanding the great history and valuable traditions of Austria.

The failure of this attempt to break up our meeting did our movement a great deal of good, though it made real headway only when in the Dollfuss regime, later on. political conflicts brought together all those Austrians who were conscious of their traditions, and when self-defence organizations had been enlisted in the service of the state as assistant militia and gendarmerie.

Apart from a few cases of friction there was, at the time of which I write, complete harmony among the organizations of the defence movement, and to preserve that harmony was always my deepest concern.

Whilst the Storm-Squads were composed to an overwhelming extent of young workers and clerks, another self-defence organization grew up by its side which in the main came from the Christian trade unions and, as the "League of Liberty", made great headway. This organization, too, did its duty fully in days of difficulty, thereby rendering incalculable service to the country. Storm-Squads and the League of Liberty always got on well together, but there was friction from time to time between the League and the Heimwehr corps. The chief cause of such friction was the fact that the League, as being connected with the Christian trade unions, rejected the Fascist tendencies within the Heimwehr movement, whereas the Heimwehr saw in the League an organization in sympathy with the Left and devoted to the parliamentary and democratic order of ideas.

Later on, all these organizations reproached each other with making their respective memberships unduly accessible,

and whereas the Heimwehr were suspected, more particularly, of accepting as members unreliable elements of Pan-German outlook, the others were accused of admitting varied elements of the Left to their ranks. In reality no one organization had the right to reproach the other on this point, since in their hey-day all the voluntary organizations had been slack in admitting new members, the result being that in course of time they all suffered through lack of consistency. That was equally true of the Ostmärkische Sturm-scharen who, since the year 1934, had gone beyond their original limits and in different parts of Austria had become a frank rival to the Heimwehr movement, which was certainly not their original purpose.

Besides the organizations already referred to, the Christian German Gymnasts and the Marksmen, an association restricted to the province of the Burgenland, were among the props of the Fatherland in the hour of her trial. Both these groups were wisely led and thus managed to limit the tasks they set before themselves; by this they avoided many a dangerous pitfall which caused great damage to the other self-defence organizations.

Opinions may differ regarding the entire self-defence movement, and more particularly the Heimwehr, yet they achieved their tasks and did their duty in the fullest measure. Every Austrian has grounds to recall with gratitude the sacrifices these voluntary organizations made in blood and substance on behalf of the harassed country. There is no doubt that the way to the new Austria would not have been thinkable without these self-defence organizations, and more especially without the Heimwehr corps.

But it is equally beyond dispute that the existence, side by side, of these rival associations could not continue indefinitely. In one thing the dangers which must result from clashes that were inevitable, particularly in normal times, were too great to be risked. Then, in the moment when controversial issues of domestic policy had to be settled, the

solid front of all individuals and parties who had rallied to the support of the Fatherland was needed. Thus the concentration of the voluntary defence organizations had to be the next political aim.

The first step in such a development was the partial co-ordination under a uniform leadership, so that the Heimwehr would stand side by side with the organizations, such as the Sturmscharen, which were under the direct command of the Chancellor.

The next step in this direction was the establishment of a "United Defence Front", in which it was decided that all the leagues should take up their position under a common leadership.

Out of this "Defence Front" there grew by degrees the "Front Militia", and this in turn was required to place itself as part of the army under the ordinary military command.

The purpose of the voluntary military formations, with their own leadership, had been achieved when military conscription was re-introduced, and at the same moment the first ground for the creation, in its time, of a voluntary force had disappeared.

But the country could certainly be taxed with ingratitude if it were ever to forget the services of the different defence organizations, their members and their leaders. Not only are they entitled to continued respect but they have won for themselves the right to continue their co-operation and to share in responsibility within the framework of the community as a whole. No one, indeed, could ever think of challenging that right.

The self-defence movement and, more especially, the Heimwehr organization, would not have been thinkable without the selfless obedience of the men who were ready to line up in military formation, and without the devotion and self-sacrificing spirit of the leaders who worked in full conviction that their cause was a just one.

The characteristic profile of Major Fey is familiar, by reason of numberless pictures, to every Austrian who has lived through the difficult years since 1931. Destiny confronted him with particularly irksome and difficult tasks, and he resolved them by the exercise of his own inherent, steadfast and purposeful sense of duty. Many members of the one-time Vienna Home-Defence Corps, and many home-defenders in the provinces as well, see in him the leader of merit who was sincerely solicitous for the welfare of those who had accepted his leadership.

The former Federal Leader of the Home-Defence Movement, Ernest Rüdiger, Prince Starhemberg, was for long years the prime upholder of the Heimwehr idea in Austria, and, by great personal sacrifice, put the movement on the right road.

Although our ways separated, now as formerly I see in Prince Starhemberg not only a man of winning character who in all practical and personal matters always thought and acted with great propriety, but also the Austrian who in times of crisis, without ever concealing his German sentiments, did service to our country.

Perhaps he could have done better, now and then, had he been assisted by a suitable chief of staff, as many of his decisions have evidently been dictated not so much by calm deliberation as by exuberant and impulsive temperament.

But in the end it is the rounded picture and the sum of achievement that count, and in this point Starhemberg performed everything his name promised.

We never differed as to fundamentals, and on only the question of methods did my opinion and his not coincide.

The self-defence movement first came to its full development in the time to which Engelbert Dollfuss gave a determining character.

CHAPTER TEN

ENGELBERT DOLLFUSS

By way of introduction let me recall one Sunday midday at the Vienna Opera House in the late autumn of the year 1934.

Breathless suspense hung over the sumptuous building, crowded in the stalls and the balconies. Men and women were all dressed in deep black, and sombre waves seemed to surge forward from the auditorium, across the orchestra, up to the stage, where the choir of the Opera, clothed in black too, stood expectant. Towering above this mass, in the background, was the mask of Engelbert Dollfuss, more than life-sized and unrelieved; and our minds reverted with agonizing vividness to this revered man and we recalled once more how it all came about. . . .

A veil of mournfulness seemed to be spread throughout the great space, immense in height and depth, with its familiar draperies of red and gold, suggesting the mood of All Souls' Day. No stage-craft was needed to heighten the solemnity of that moment. The heart, the ear, the eye combined to achieve complete harmony and to bring about an inter-communication of souls, even before Arturo Toscanini, after two short taps, lifted his baton to begin the Requiem by Verdi.

A second later the building with its thousands of individual beings seemed to be lifted out of the visual sphere and to be merged in the timeless and impersonal. Nothing was prearranged or forced, there were no banners or hangings,

no one thought of politics, of a worked-up demonstration. Yet the thoughts of the whole assembly centred round Dollfuss, and there was a glowing vision of red, white and red, while the choir sang: "Et lux perpetua luceat ei . . ."

Then the "Kyrie eleison" sounded forth like a bold challenge and filled the vast hall, plunged in gleaming hues of black, red and gold.

About these three linked colours in Austria there is surely something particular, and it is a tragic fate of our history that this tricolour has been too often abused and, therefore, misunderstood.¹ But in this sacred hour, devoted to the mourning of a nation for Austria's noblest patriot, music and colours blended into a natural harmony that our immortal tradition of culture alone makes possible. This harmony, when we encounter it, is a definite personal experience. It gives vent to our confession of faith in Austria, in her German genius, in the perpetual values of the Catholic spirit; it breaks down boundaries too narrowly drawn and holds up to our grasp the idea of an unsullied humanity which, for all our tribulations, stands upright and courageous, close and open to the world. Of all this one became more conscious at that moment than ever before.

Tension continued to brood over us as the "Dies iræ" pictured the terrors of the Day of Judgment and the "Libera" disclosed with dramatic precipitation the dreadful abyss which ever lies, for human thought, between life and death. Against what appears to be meaningless there can be no fighting, and still the end is reconciliation and harmony; everything leads to peace at last; our only duty is to believe, to comprehend and to keep the inner eye open for the eternal light of Truth. . . .

The Mass of the Dead by the great Italian master, interpreted at the Vienna Opera House by one whom the world numbers first among magicians of musical achievement, rendered by our own artists of Austria—that commemora-

¹ See p. 26.



DR. DOLLFUSS

E.N.A.

tion, held in a matchless building, was a unique experience. This grandiose hour was a reminder to us that the idea of the Holy Empire was still a spiritual reality, and thus it meant a true testimony for Austria and, at the same time, threw a radiance over the memory of Engelbert Dollfuss.

Who Engelbert Dollfuss was has been worthily told by different biographers; his work stands before us and needs no further interpretation.

Anyone who saw him from a distance only and lacked the opportunity of meeting him personally, might easily have formed a superficial and erroneous impression of this man. The secret of Dollfuss lay in the appeal of his personality. The long, firm pressure of his hand, a look from his kindly laughing eyes and a friendly word—those helped to disarm many an adversary, to win many friends, to achieve results more significant than others obtained in the course of long debates. Not that he was afraid of discussions. His was an almost unbelievable energy, and time placed no limits on his work, as his co-workers often came to recognize.

A conference at the Chancellery might be arranged for five o'clock in the afternoon, might begin actually at seven and might then last until long after midnight. There were cabinet meetings that started in the morning, lasted through the day and the following night, and might end only towards eight o'clock the next morning. The liveliest member of the cabinet at such occasions, the least fatigued, was invariably the Chancellor himself.

Some people were surprised that Dollfuss never worked to a time-table, and it is true beyond question that you could not deal with him, watch in hand. What urged him on was his vital, impelling rhythm of work. He would not hear of questions remaining unsettled; and all the hundred matters that came before him, without notice, in the course of the day would occupy his attention until they were clearly and definitely out of the way. Thus it was that a rigid time-table

was not at all in keeping with his temperament and the unexpected problems of the moment invariably claimed his mind.

This again throws light upon his character. Dollfuss was never the man to build up "systems" of political ideas, to devise far-reaching plans for the future; but he did know how to master a situation as it arose. He was never guided by preconceptions and never relied on calculations. Instead, he trusted his instinct and the powers of penetration and apprehension with which he approached every question and which never failed him.

Engelbert Dollfuss had been an economist, and economic questions were always his particular interest. If the crisis did not engulf Austria, if this country managed to tide over the hardest times, then it owes that, above all, to the indefatigable and lucid intellect of Chancellor Dollfuss, a statesman who was never tired of exploring new ways and whose initiative never lost its freedom of action. He was often suspected of pursuing a one-sided agrarian policy, but supported by the able Minister of Commerce, Fritz Stockinger, he very soon disposed of prevailing apprehensions and helped on the revival of Austria's entire economic situation, linking it up with the trade of the world.

For all the economic trend of his thought and his sober, matter-of-fact attitude to everyday issues, which often call for strong action and do not permit of leniency or too great consideration, and for all the emphasis he put on logical thought and strict reasoning, Engelbert Dollfuss was a man of much heart, and he did not conceal the fact.

His appeal found a way readily to the hearts of the men about whose fate he was concerned. He apprehended that the best economic policy is not one which regards itself as an end, moving as if it were in a vacuum, but rather one that aims to benefit the population—not a few privileged individuals, but if possible the nation as a whole.

To be of service is what gave Dollfuss most pleasure and

most satisfaction. He shared the view of Conrad von Hoetzendorf,¹ who wrote that he thought all men good until they convinced him of the contrary. With this as a working principle, disappointments were not to be avoided. Thus Dollfuss, easily impressionable, impulsive, tender-hearted, committed many a mistake; which when he discovered he would resent for a long time. And whoever had showed himself unreliable or unworthy could scarcely ever expect to rehabilitate himself with Dollfuss, though the Chancellor might make an exception in the case of an ex-“Kaiserschütze”,² for he cherished the spirit of comradeship since his own service days.

He was simple and plain, natural, modest in his ways of life, with the shrewdness and extreme frankness which were so essential an aspect of his character, cheerful, ever on the move, quick, perhaps sometimes too quick in his decisions; averse to posing yet determined to exact respect for the position in which he represented Austria; courageous and upright, influencing his fellows through his personality, which did not require any marked distance from the world around to assert itself, though his physical appearance was by no means a striking one. A loyal friend, ready to help those who worked with him or were his companions; an idealist, a believer, a faithful son of the German race, and at the same time a crusader for Austria—such was Dollfuss.

Such was the Dollfuss I knew and was privileged to accompany in the golden years of his life, from the outset of his public career, down the path of fortune and success until the hour of farewell struck. So long as life is given me I shall not cease to testify for Engelbert Dollfuss and his Austria.

¹ Marshal Baron Conrad von Hoetzendorf, Chief of the General Staff of the Austro-Hungarian army during the War.

² “Kaiserschützen”: “Imperial Marksmen”, regiment in which Dollfuss served during the War.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

STORM SIGNALS

THE collapse of the Credit-Anstalt made 1931 a year of catastrophe for Austria and at the same time the world economic depression cast its heavy shadow over the country and held out alarmingly dark prospects for the years ahead. The curve of unemployment rose steeply and international trade came to a standstill; currency restrictions were hampering the free exchange of goods at every turn. The schilling currency, established at such a heavy sacrifice, was in imminent peril and the spectre of general misery, which since 1922 had gradually been fading into oblivion, once more hovered on the threshold. All these ominous signs appeared at a time when political differences were coming more and more to the surface, when dissatisfaction with the government of the country was spreading to an increasingly large part of the population, while nowhere was there any evidence of genuine national spirit or of that readiness for sacrifice upon which self-preservation depends.

Economic catastrophes always precipitate chaos. Few of us have the courage or capacity to preserve a clear vision; the great majority succumb all too easily to demagogic slogans. Especially in parliaments, periods of catastrophe are often the signal for converting the parliamentary rostrum into a court of justice. Effort is directed not so much, and not primarily, towards preventing the spread of mischief and grasping at reasonable remedies, but rather towards collect-

ing every scrap of evidence to support accusations against those who are or may be thought responsible. These accusations, however well-founded, do not alone solve those urgent problems which must be solved without delay if the trouble is to be prevented from spreading. All they do is to feed the public mind, which is, for the moment anyhow, diverted from the real cause of anxiety and is prone to inquire rather whose is the fault than who is to pay the price. Furthermore, every period of crisis means a large accession to the army of experts, both genuine and self-appointed. From these emanate countless nostrums, some disinterested and some not, some useful and others chimeric. The whole of this material is caught in the mirror of parliamentary life and is doubly distorted by sensation-mongers who for various reasons make it their business to put things in the most unfavourable light, or who are even paid by someone else to create difficulties and to conjure up trouble by talking loudest of the devil. That someone may dwell within or beyond the national frontiers; he is in most cases out of reach.

And so it was once again in the Austrian parliament. Instead of everyone combining in the hour of need and sinking their differences in the common cause, the opposing camps abused each other more violently than ever. The fact that at the critical moment there still remained sufficient sense of responsibility to avoid carrying matters to extremes, makes little difference. For although a majority vote seemed assured and the opposition were in the end perfectly aware that their stage thunder was nothing more than tactical manoeuvring, it was nevertheless true that a large section of the public either took seriously their long-sustained protests and their adverse vote, thus adding to popular confusion, or, on the other hand, became more and more disgusted with the parliamentary system as such, convinced by years of experience of the essential unreality of parliamentary discussion. For it happened again and again that even in cases where no real difference of opinion was possible and when

a single solution was imperatively called for, the opposition would obstinately persist in their negative attitude, although unable to defeat the majority decision; and this, simply because in their hearts they were with the majority, but for their own self-interested motives did not wish to admit it, in order not to contribute to the success of their political opponents and because in any case they had no wish to accept responsibility for a vote either way. This jamming of the parliamentary machine, which excluded any free decisions and condemned every debate and every vote to follow a predestined course, was one of the main causes of the growing unpopularity of parliamentary institutions in Austria. It is true that these evils were very much less in evidence in the provincial diets and municipal councils, since on these much smaller bodies there was as a rule, though not everywhere or on all occasions, a certain freedom of opinion even within the separate political parties. Unwillingness to allow a political opponent any success frequently went so far that a motion would be rejected or talked out, not on its merits at all, but simply because it was sponsored by the other side.

All these faults and bitternesses found abundant expression in the Austrian parliament of 1931 and 1932. They figured in the debate on the Credit-Anstalt, in the question of dissolving the Nationalrat and holding fresh elections and, finally, in the treatment of the bills relating to the raising of a foreign loan. As is known, this last and violently contested item on the agenda led to the decisive fight over the acceptance or rejection of the Lausanne Protocols.

Until June 1931 the reins of government had been held by the able and politic Chancellor, Dr. Ender, who, as governor of Vorarlberg, enjoyed the reputation of an especially able administrator and sound democrat. His duty it was to set bounds to the economic conflagration started by the affair of the Credit-Anstalt and to avert the incalculable consequences that might follow from its further spread. He set

himself to this task with devoted energy, hindered rather than helped by parliament. He ended by establishing state liability on a scale hitherto unknown in Austria. It was very much easier to criticize his proposals than to suggest better ones in their place. In any event the heaviest burdens and sacrifices had become inevitable, and some of them seemed almost too heavy to be borne by Austria's diminished strength. The situation was certainly made no easier by the fact that, before the great bank crash, which coincided moreover with very similar crashes in many other larger countries, the plan for an Austro-German customs union had become public. The chief defect of this plan lay in its very inadequate preparation, but blame for this could not be laid at the Chancellor's door, for he was not in personal control of the Foreign Office. Even Schober, the Foreign Minister, was at first most certainly not clear as to the consequences of publication, which had taken place without his consent.

The charges falling upon the state through the reconstruction of the Credit-Anstalt led inevitably to the adoption of thorough and very drastic reforms in the national budget, with all their far-reaching consequences. The Chancellor, a good democrat, said that he could not assume further responsibility unless parliament entrusted him with extensive powers. There was certainly nothing extravagant in this claim, and he was as far as possible from aiming at dictatorship. All he wanted was freedom of action and the ability to take decisions in vital questions, since it appeared to him obviously unfair and dangerous that at such a critical hour the responsible authority should have his hands tied, especially, too, as even delay might involve risk of failure.

Parliament did not realize the gravity of the situation. This was perhaps the last chance of saving its prestige. A wise self-restraint might have paved the way for future usefulness. As it was, it took one further step to encompass its own ruin.

Seipel, who had hitherto kept in the background, now

came forward and made what, after all that had gone before, was a really sensational effort to form a concentration cabinet of all the political parties, including the Socialists. The attempt failed, and marked the real collapse of the party state. What followed was little more than a slow and inevitable death.

Next, Dr. Karl Buresch, leader of the Christian Social Party in the Nationalrat and Governor of Lower Austria, formed a centre cabinet, made up of the old party groups, Christian Social, Pan-Germans and *Landbund* (Farmers' Union), and exposed to hostile attack on both flanks. To the left were ranged the Social Democrats, to the right the Heimat block, the former more moderate in tone, but uncompromising in fact, the latter violent in language, but more restrained on questions of merits.

In the days of Buresch's first cabinet, which held office from June 1931 to January 1932, the signs of approaching economic and political storm became ever clearer and more threatening. With the utmost effort it was still found possible to pass the law for the reform of the budget, which imposed further sacrifices in the form of higher taxation, more particularly of civil servants. No one could dispute the need for this sacrifice, when it was borne in mind that the federal budget for 1931 had closed with a deficit of three hundred million schillings, while the note issue amounted to a milliard. Unemployment had been steadily mounting; provision for unemployment relief ran into higher and higher figures and made it impossible to organize the state's finances for the future on any sure basis.

In such a situation a sharp brake had to be applied to the rapid downward movement, if the state and industry were to be saved from inevitable collapse.

Thus the course which Austrian policy had had to take in 1922 again became necessary ten years later. In 1932 the Austrian Chancellor once again applied to the League of Nations, but this time not as a mere petitioner who has first

to establish his credentials and to claim credit in advance. Ten years of Austrian recovery under Ignaz Seipel separated the two dates. Austria was now able to point out that she had kept all her promises, had progressed far along the painful road of solid reconstruction, had always recognized her obligations and, despite all internal difficulties, had never disregarded the duties of debtor to creditor. She was now overtaken by a storm which was not sparing larger and richer countries. Austria did not turn to Geneva with a desperate call for help, but was in a position to submit reasoned proposals which could equally benefit creditor and debtor. These proposals were principally in the field of commercial policy, and were only secondarily financial. A departure from the rigid framework of most-favoured-nation treatment, as required under the Peace Treaty, and the creation of mutual preferences might open fresh markets, give an impetus to international trade and thus preserve Austrian production from impending collapse—a collapse the results of which would not be limited to Austrian territory. The endeavour to obtain a new international loan could, from the financial point of view, be easily appreciated, since it was otherwise inconceivable that the interest on the old loan could continue to be paid. The currency could not have been maintained and, here again, Austria would not have been the only sufferer. One possibility, of course, was simply to stop all payment of foreign debts and claim the rights of a state of emergency. Political propaganda in Austria subsequently made much capital out of this suggestion, which indeed offers many attractions to those who do not see all its implications and do not trouble to think out the whole problem. For even the much-favoured comparison with other countries leads to error. No doubt many other countries in a similar situation to ours have taken the drastic course of destroying all the channels of payment between themselves and foreign countries. At the same time the old natural law applies to states as it does to all other communities

and even to individuals. You cannot compare quantities that have no common measure.

A country which can in the main feed its people from its own national resources or which has made no legal provision for the unemployed, either because its industrial output and thus the labour question does not play a decisive part in the national life, or because for other reasons it has no cause to fear lest the national budget and internal order be jeopardized through unemployment—a country in which, for example, the tourist industry is of no importance and which does not therefore attach primary importance to international economic exchange and to free and, as far as possible, unhampered movement of goods and persons—a country, in a word, which lives in a different political and economic climate from our own, can with impunity allow itself to suspend all payments for the time being. But in Austria the situation was very different. Apart from the monopoly yields earmarked to ensure the interest service of the previous international loans, there were a hundred reasons why Austria should continue to discharge her undertakings to the very fullest extent possible. Not only because her prestige, her currency and her future credit were at stake; nor merely on general ethical grounds, which demand honest dealing from a state as from an individual. Austria had to remember that she was dependent upon friendly relations with foreign countries for the feeding of her people and for the maintenance of her industries, and that the tourist traffic was of ever-increasing economic importance to large parts of a country endowed with all the blessings of nature and rich in scenic beauty. Finally, she had to bear in mind that the cultural standards of her population and her social and political institutions required a certain minimum expenditure by the state which could in no circumstances be substantially reduced without such serious political upheaval as might easily lead to a conflagration. And when a conflagration starts, nobody knows how far it may spread.

Thus it is not an exaggeration to compare the appeals by Austria to the League of Nations in 1922 and 1932. In both cases everything was at stake; the maintenance of the state, the preservation of a decent minimum level of existence for all classes of the population, the laying of the foundations of wise reconstruction, leading first to the maintenance of industry and thus a sure basis of national existence, and further to the establishment of such conditions as would allow of a gradual rise in the standard of living of the mass of the people. The different treatment of the two League appeals of 1922 and 1932 by the political parties in Austria affords the clearest proof of the prejudiced character and therefore unworkability of the democratic institutions under our parliamentary system of a few years ago. "To be or not to be" was on both occasions the question. Accordingly, the representatives of the people, whose duty it was to protect the interests of the nation as a whole and not those of their party, were bound to abandon all impulses towards propaganda and the struggle for power in the state and serve the cause of national salvation, which takes precedence of all other considerations. No doubt this service becomes easier when the word "state" is replaced by the term "Fatherland"; until 1932, however, the latter term was not in common use in Austria.

In regard to the bills for the raising of the international loans of Geneva and Lausanne, the parliamentary picture was as follows: in 1922 the Social Democrats were against the bill; they called Seipel a national traitor, who had bartered his country's freedom and sold it into foreign bondage. The Pan-German Party, which at that time was included in the government, had no patriotic scruples and supported the Chancellor.

In 1932 the Social Democrats were also opposed to the measure, but this time only because under the rules of the parliamentary game they had no motive for supporting the government. The charge of national betrayal proceeded, with

the use of the same arguments differently applied from the Pan-German benches, which employed the same phraseology as had been repeated *ad nauseam* ten years before from the other side of the House. One difference should certainly be noted: in 1932 the Social Democrats were no doubt secretly in favour of the bill, because they, too (at that time they were responsible for the administration of the city of Vienna), had only too much at stake. All the same, their indignation in 1922 was not altogether above suspicion, and was only a means to an end, since in the last resort decision by parliament, though taken in a most undignified form, was not made impossible. The indignation of the Pan-Germans in 1932, on the other hand, was no doubt sincere, and they left no stone unturned to throw out the bill. The only obscure point is why the six hundred and forty million gold crowns of 1922, regarded from the national standpoint, should be judged differently from the three hundred million schillings of 1932, unless it is that that standpoint varies according to the political temperature in Berlin.

The Austrian Government, on the other hand, declared in 1922 and in 1932—and has proved by stern years of work and development—that its attitude towards the basic question of Germanism will never change. The difference of views consists in Austria's opinion that not only are belief in the German cause and true service to the national idea in Austria compatible with assertion of the Fatherland's existence, but also that the maintenance of the state and the safeguarding and betterment of the conditions of our people's lives are, in the circumstances, indispensable pre-requisites.

Chancellor Buresch's attempts to explore new economic and financial avenues were at first unsuccessful. The political tension increased and tied the government's hands. At the end of 1932, a cabinet re-shuffle took place. The Pan-German Party insisted upon the retention of the post of Foreign Minister by the former Vice-Chancellor Schober. The Chancellor was opposed to this, seeing in that eventu-

ality no prospect of a successful issue. The Pan-German Party, therefore, went into opposition and thus upset the distribution of party strength which had obtained in the Austrian parliament since Seipel's day. A new phase now set in.

On January 27, 1932, the Chancellor surprised me by asking if I would accept the post of Minister of Justice in his cabinet. At first I hesitated, being anxious to consult my political friends in the Tyrol. Without the consent of the Tyrol People's Party, it would have seemed to me idle to accept the post, particularly as it was clear from the outset that the labours of a minority cabinet did not promise to be either very fruitful or probably of long duration. I asked the Chancellor himself to speak with Innsbruck and told him that I was at his disposal if the political leaders in the Tyrol approved; the latter had recently been somewhat critical of the government and of the Chancellor himself.

Two conversations caused me to adopt this procedure. The first was a talk I had with Seipel, at that time about to leave on his last journey to the south in search of health. Seipel recommended me to accept the Ministry of Justice. He thought its work worth doing and within my capacity, and held that it was of great importance at that time to preserve a clear political line.

My second talk was with the Minister of Agriculture, Dr. Dollfuss, whom I had known in earlier days, but with whom I had had no close relations, though always a personal friend of his. In his impulsive way he brushed my doubts aside. I felt, too, that he was anxious through me to win over the naturally restive Alpine provinces of the west, especially the Tyrolese. For Dollfuss was then engaged in devising hitherto untried agricultural and commercial expedients to relieve agricultural distress—a job which, as the responsible minister, he tackled with energy. As a practical farmer and political economist he had long enjoyed an international reputation.

From that day on, I worked in close association with Engelbert Dollfuss, whom I equally valued as man, colleague and leader. He was attached to me, and I followed him unquestioningly and in all circumstances as a faithful brother-in-arms. The subsequent endeavours of certain persons to drive a wedge between us had no success. Their words, whether addressed to him or to myself, fell on deaf ears.

My work at the Ministry was arduous and I encountered obstacles at every turn. More than once it seemed almost hopeless to continue.

I was still strongly of opinion that my functions were purely temporary and was so far from reckoning with a long period of employment in Vienna that I neither settled in permanent quarters in the capital nor thought of giving up my home at Innsbruck.

At that time two main tasks awaited fulfilment at the Ministry of Justice. First, the unification of German and Austrian law, to which I gave my particular attention, the more so because I have always held that the common cultural origins and the racial identity of the two countries should find expression, wherever possible, in a common written law. My second task was the reform of the Austrian penal code, which had been on the waiting list for decades, but which one political difficulty or another had continually deferred. Further, public notice was at that time being increasingly drawn to the repeated discoveries of arms, not merely hidden stores of rifles and machine-guns, but substantial reserves of explosives, the existence of which in a city like Vienna was naturally a constant danger.

The official statement of policy by Buresch's reformed cabinet, which now had no majority in parliament, contained nothing sensational, nor did the ensuing debate in the Nationalrat. The spokesman of the Social Democrats, Dr. Robert Danneberg, dealt at some length with the political significance of my inclusion in the government. Quoting

from a Christian Social paper, he stated that "Professor Seipel's right-hand man had joined the second Buresch cabinet"; and went on to say that he had been appointed to prevent the carrying out of unilateral disarmament of the Heimatschutz; that the new minister had openly proclaimed it his sacred duty to secure the repeal of the confiscatory laws against the Habsburg family, and had declared that the Monarchy was a better form of government than the existing one and that he would leave the party if the Christian Socials refused any longer to allow monarchists in their fold. The Minister's fears, he said, were quite unfounded, for the Christian Social Party was not expelling any monarchists, but was placing them upon the government benches and even appointing them guardians of republican justice. The new Minister being also a Doctor of Law, he had been made Minister of Justice in the new cabinet. No less suitable candidate for that office could have been conceived.

It was not to be supposed that the minority government would have a long reign, and internal discord soon became too much for it, although every effort was made to treat the attacks and excesses of both wings with a like impartiality. These onslaughts became more and more violent. Occurrences that had been unknown to political life since the days of the revolution now became almost daily incidents. One after another, clashes between armed opponents resulted in loss of life. The struggle between the two extreme wings became more and more bitter, the National Socialist movement emerging on the right, the republican Schutzbund of the Socialists on the left. Both groups were furnished with arms and the Schutzbund were under regular military leadership. The influence of political extremists was felt to a disquieting extent both in administration and in the executive, and demands for the divorce of the army from politics and for long-promised administrative reforms now became pressing.

In the spring of 1932, when the atmosphere was thus

heavily charged, were held the Vienna municipal elections, which resulted in an addition to the Municipal Council of fifteen noisy and quite unrestrained National Socialist members. Isolated gains by the National Socialists in the provincial elections in Salzburg and Lower Austria, coupled with the results of the municipal elections in Vienna, affected the balance of strength in the Federal Council. Thereupon Dr. Otto Bauer, leader of the Social Democrats, tabled a motion in the Nationalrat for the dissolution of parliament and the holding of new elections. The Pan-German Party submitted a similar motion and, finally, the Heimatblock also supported this proposal. On May 6th Chancellor Buresch announced the resignation of his government.

The political situation was now critically tense. On the one hand, the turbulent National Socialists, supported by the majority in the Austrian Nationalrat, clamoured for an immediate election. As things were, an election could not be held without the most serious internal upheaval, such as meant the collapse of the country. The intention was obviously to demoralize public opinion by repeated votes of no confidence and by a series of elections, and to exploit the economic depression and the general sense of discouragement. There could, of course, be no question of recovery without a foreign loan, and, if political confusion continued, neither recovery nor the conclusion of commercial treaties was possible. The National Socialists appealed to the rights of a democratic parliament, but for them democracy was admittedly a means to an end, for, after acquiring power, it was their professed intention to destroy both democracy and parliament. Two alternatives were open: either to allow political warfare to continue unimpeded, which meant in all probability civil war and in any event economic collapse; or to postpone the issue of these internal dissensions and under strong and responsible leadership to embark upon the work of reconstruction. Anyone whose political creed included the salvation of Austria could not but decide

in favour of the second alternative. Anyone who chose the first either desired the end of Austria or was too blind to see the inevitable consequences of his course.

The Federal President entrusted the difficult task of forming the new government to Engelbert Dollfuss. Dollfuss belonged to what was called the National Catholic camp. As a young man he had studied in Berlin, and later in intellectual Catholic circles had always stood for the closest co-operation with Germany. The belief in a common destiny was indeed so deeply ingrained in him that more conservative Austrians sometimes thought of him as an opponent. A native of the Lower Austrian country-side, he had inherited sound democratic instincts from his birth. When called upon to accept supreme responsibility, he was in no doubt at all. For all his Germanism, he was an Austrian and saw in the preservation of Austria the core of his mission and the fulfilment of his duty. His endeavours to form a workable government continued for an anxious fortnight. I participated in those days and nights of negotiation in association almost all the time with the Minister Carl Vaugoin, at that time chairman of the Christian Social Group. I am convinced that without Engelbert Dollfuss's tenacity and patience the task would never have been accomplished. I well remember thinking more than once that, if I had been in Dollfuss's place, I should long before the end have gone to the Federal President and relinquished my mandate. I had always thought well of Dollfuss, but now I learnt to admire him wholeheartedly. He first tried to bring together the four non-Socialist parties (Christian Socials, Farmers' Union, Pan-Germans and Heimatblock). The consent of the two first was soon obtained and the Heimatblock under Starhemberg also came into line. On the other hand, negotiations with the representatives of the Pan-Germans met from the first with most serious obstacles. More than once agreement seemed to have been reached, but a few hours later a refusal would follow, accompanied

by further impossible demands. Finally, it was agreed to adopt a waiting attitude, Dollfuss resolving to continue his efforts to secure Pan-German co-operation in the government.

On May 12th the *Neues Wiener Journal* published a leader which attracted much notice. It declared that Dollfuss's cabinet was an impossibility and that the chancellorship must be offered to Rintelen. The chief editor at that time was Dr. Nagelstock, a personal friend of Dr. Rintelen. Nevertheless, despite attacks from all sides, Dollfuss proceeded with his negotiations, and after some ten days had almost achieved success, when a crisis was suddenly precipitated on the night of May 19th. The article in the *Neues Wiener Journal* had been no mere accident. The Heimatblock wrote a letter in which it made its co-operation in the government conditional upon the chancellorship being entrusted to Rintelen. The explanation of this unexpected demand was a threat by the Heimatschutz group in Styria (Pfrimer-Kammerhofer group) to break away from the main party. This group had two deputies in the parliamentary fraction, and their loss might jeopardize the government's majority. Subsequently, as we know, the Styrian Heimatschutz went over to National Socialism. Dollfuss settled the point by agreeing to the inclusion of Rintelen in his cabinet, the question of his post to be reserved for discussion. It was first intended to give him the Ministry of Justice, but his supporters declared that that office was not important enough for Rintelen, who had already been in charge of education. He was therefore given the Ministry of Education, after making it a condition that he should be allowed to retain the Governorship of Styria. The situation was doubtful to the last, but Dollfuss was bent on success at any cost. Accordingly, on May 20th, after a fortnight's work, he succeeded in forming his new cabinet, which was faced from the very outset with the most formidable tasks. The end of the crisis came none too soon, for its continuance

would have had quite incalculable effects upon Austria's economic life.

On May 27, 1932, Chancellor Dollfuss presented his cabinet to the Nationalrat, and the remarkably striking government statement made on that occasion introduced him for the first time to the general public. He began his speech by expressing regret that he had not been able "at this critical juncture to bring all the bourgeois parties to work together at the common task". He expressly declared his intention of continuing efforts towards that end. "Austria," he went on, "who, measured by the mentality of her people and her small military forces, is among the most pacific peoples in the world, has sought and will seek to live in peace and amity with all her neighbours and with all countries in Europe and in the world. All the world, however, will and must understand that we, as an independent German state—as conditioned by our blood, our history and our geographical position—are conscious of the closest connection and friendship with the German Reich, a friendship which carries with it rights and obligations."¹ The Chancellor then dealt with outstanding economic questions, more particularly outlining certain concrete proposals in the field of commercial policy, declaring himself strongly in favour of a system of preferences for Central Europe. He stated categorically that the government would in no circumstances abuse the right of currency issue and that it regarded it as its first duty to maintain a balanced budget. He laid special emphasis upon care for Austrian workers and employees, which, particularly as regards unemployment, he declared to be a concern of the whole of Austria. Dollfuss at that time spoke almost entirely extempore. It is impossible to-day to read unmoved these closing words of his first great speech:

"Thus, ladies and gentlemen, I stand before you, on behalf of the government, firmly resolved to spare no per-

¹ Shorthand record of the eighty-first session of the Nationalrat of the Austrian Republic.

sonal sacrifice of time and effort, mindful of the oath I have sworn to the President of the Republic, but mindful, too, of the heavy responsibility that rests upon this government, at a time when social progress and the internal and external fate of our country depend upon decisions to be taken in the economic field.

"I make this appeal not only to our friends, but to all of you: let us unite in realizing the gravity of this moment; give us your help, for, without it, the fate of our people may be sealed."

Dr. Otto Bauer was the first to reply for the opposition and he concluded his speech with these words: "We are willing to help in saving this country from the appalling economic fate that still threatens it. In order, however, to avert this danger and to pave the way for a government which could effectively unite the great and vital forces of the country in the task of overcoming our economic difficulties, we regard it as our very first duty to offer the sternest and most uncompromising resistance to the present government, which is an obstacle to the performance of that task. I therefore venture to propose that the Nationalrat should pass a vote of no confidence in the federal government."¹

The speaker for the Pan-Germans, Dr. Straffner, "readily admitted that the Chancellor's statement was a departure from the conventional form. It was to some extent a consistent whole, the work from beginning to end of one man, unlike former government statements, most of which were a compilation by the different ministries. He hoped that the Federal Chancellor would succeed in obtaining acceptance of his programme by his own parties. He could not, however, help saying that he was sceptical on this point."¹

Engelbert Dollfuss now applied himself to the grim task of overcoming all the difficulties in his way. During his first months in office he once told me that he had always trusted

¹ Shorthand record.

his instinct, which had seldom deceived him. He had had a feeling from the beginning that he would remain Chancellor either for quite a short or for a very long time. He felt quite confident that he would master his difficulties, even if he could not then say how it could be done. This talk was during the campaign for the Lausanne loan. It has already been explained why this loan was necessary. The fact that it was obtained at all in the existing circumstances was a notable personal success for the Chancellor, who worked hard for it, together with the President of the National Bank, Dr. Kienböck.

Dissension within the bourgeois camp over the Lausanne loan became rapidly more and more acute and, as early as July, the Pan-Germans tabled a motion of no confidence in the government. By a series of miraculous chances Dollfuss was enabled somehow to navigate these and numerous other parliamentary shoals. In the early hours of August 2, 1932, the day for voting on the motion, Dr. Seipel died. The vote was taken in the Nationalrat that same afternoon. Had Seipel at that hour still been living, he would have been an absentee from the chamber and the Pan-German motion would probably have secured a majority. At the last moment Dr. Seipel's parliamentary successor was nominated and the vote of no confidence resulted in eighty-one for and eighty-one against, which meant under the rules of procedure that the motion was defeated and the government saved. It is a moving thought that by his very death the deceased leader in all probability intervened to save matters at the critical hour.

The voting in parliament upon the fateful Lausanne Agreement was no less dramatic. On August 17, 1932, the Nationalrat passed the Lausanne Convention by eighty-one votes to eighty. The government supporters were made up of sixty-six Christian Socials, nine members of the Farmers' Union and six deputies of the Heimatblock. The remaining two Heimatblock deputies, belonging to the Styrian group,

again voted against the government. The Federal Council, where the government had not a majority, exercised its constitutional right to veto acceptance of the Lausanne Agreement by the Nationalrat. The Federal Council consisted of twenty-two Christian Socials, twenty-two Social Democrats, three National Socialists and one deputy each from the Pan-German Party, the Farmers' Union and the Heimatblock.

The Social Democrat speaker recognized, in principle, the expediency of the Lausanne Agreement, but it was a foregone conclusion that his group would vote against it. The rejection by the Federal Council, passed by twenty-seven votes to twenty-two, was not of great importance in itself, since under the constitution the measure had to be referred back to parliament, which could then adopt a suspensory resolution. The second sitting of the Nationalrat took place on August 23rd. In the interim all the forces had been mobilized which could possibly help in defeating the suspensory resolution. Influence was brought to bear from all quarters, from outside as well as from inside Austria, for the purpose of stigmatizing the Lausanne Agreement as an act of national betrayal. The *Frankfurter Zeitung* and the *Berliner Tageblatt*, which had formerly published the most mischievous rumours about the schilling, now obtained from the Vienna correspondents the most adverse and misleading reports. It should be noted in this connection that both papers, long before the seizure of power by the Nazis, had adopted an anti-Austrian attitude, certainly not on mainly ideological grounds, and that their correspondents in Vienna held diametrically opposite political views from those which their proprietors can alone allow them to express to-day.

The methods used in this campaign are best illustrated by the following circumstance. Naturally enough, the largest and most influential economic organs in Austria published numerous resolutions and manifestos affirming the need and expediency of the Lausanne loan. One of these bodies was in contractual relationship with a certain press reporter, who

incidentally was employed by a branch of a large German newspaper and publishing firm and also acted as correspondent for some dozen German papers. The economic organ, whose press representative he was, issued a weighty public manifesto in favour of the Lausanne Agreement, while the reporter, who quite possibly had drafted the manifesto himself, was simultaneously contributing violent articles against the agreement to his newspapers in Germany. Thus indignation against the "dictated agreement of Lausanne" was manufactured in Germany and had no real basis. The final vote showed eighty-two for and eighty against, thus ensuring a majority for the loan.

One significant incident may here be recounted, since it illustrates most vividly the state of affairs at that time and the Chancellor's difficulties. The political combination known as the "Schoberblock", to which belonged the Pan-German Party and the Farmers' Union, included the deputy Vinzl, an important figure in economic life and president of the Vienna Central Association of Commerce. This deputy was under treatment in a sanatorium outside the capital. His position was exceedingly awkward. His association was naturally and for very cogent reasons in favour of the Lausanne loan. He himself was, as a member of the Pan-German parliamentary group, to whom the Lausanne Agreement was anathema, obliged to vote with it. His absence offered him a chance of escape from this dilemma. The illness alone was scarcely sufficient to prevent his appearing to vote in the ordinary way. Deputy Vinzl was now urged by his party to resign his seat, for, if he did so, a successor would be nominated, who, by acting under Pan-German pressure, would add one more vote to the opposition. Deputy Vinzl was induced to write a letter of resignation and, even before it arrived, his successor was summoned to Vienna to be ready at hand. In this way the Association of Commerce learnt what was afoot, and in their own immediate interests appealed to their president to withdraw his resignation,

which Vinzl actually did by telephone. The Pan-German Party, seeing their plans upset, attacked the Federal Chancellor as being responsible for the withdrawal of his resignation by their deputy. The Chancellor declared publicly that he only learnt of both resignation and withdrawal after the events.

Apart, however, from this case, which in itself proves how a formal parliamentary democracy failed to function in Austria, an extraordinary coincidence—others would call it Providence—also contributed to the history of these fateful days. On August 19, 1932, ex-Chancellor Schober died, and on the 23rd the suspensory resolution was adopted by the Nationalrat in the presence of the successor to the late leader of the National Economic Block. By reason of an earlier political act this successor was a member of the Farmers' Union, and his election therefore meant another vote for the government.

For the rest, the sitting of August 23, 1932, showed very clearly that from the outset the Social Democrats, who disposed of more than fifty seats, were not really serious in their opposition to the three hundred million loan. For, in order that parliament might adopt this resolution, the constitution required a quorum of at least half the total number of deputies. As there were one hundred and sixty-five deputies altogether, eighty-three were required to attend. The government, however, could only muster eighty-two. It was thus within the power of the Social Democrats by non-attendance to prevent the formation of a quorum and defeat the resolution. Further it was decided by the Supreme Electoral Board that there were no grounds for depriving Deputy Vinzl of his seat, as claimed by his parliamentary group. Accordingly, after removal of all the different obstacles placed by the opposition in the Chancellor's way, the much-disputed loan was assured. There is no doubt that its rejection would have been disastrous for Austria. Anyone who wished for that must definitely

have wanted to destroy the government and the state. That policy could, of course, be pursued from ideal motives. But not all ideal motives are wise or expedient. One thing is certain, and that is, that the refusal of the loan would have been no service to the national cause. The result would have been increasing impoverishment at home, abject dependence upon foreign countries, and not by any means upon Germany alone, for one of the main reasons for the loan was in order to consolidate a short-term debt of one hundred million schillings, due for repayment to the Bank of England. Refusal of the loan would have meant charging the budget with at least another hundred and fifty million schillings, involving new economies, tax increases, and further reductions of staff and cuts in salaries. Businesses would have had to close, unemployment would have risen, and the whole elaborate machinery of social welfare would have been in danger of collapse. Rigid currency restrictions would inevitably have had to be maintained, with disastrous results to business in general and the tourist traffic in particular. The subsequent course of events showed clearly that acceptance of the Lausanne Protocol was not only inevitable and justified, but had a most favourable effect upon future progress. If it had done no more than secure and stabilize the currency and lay the foundations for the coming internal loans, designed to finance employment, it would still have fully served its purpose. The terms of the loan were quite acceptable and, as regards the demands made upon Austria, could not be compared in point of hardship with the Geneva loan of 1923. These demands were: an ordered federal budget, balanced accounts for the federal railways, guarantees for the stability of the currency, a final scheme for the reconstruction of the Credit-Anstalt, acceptance of a League of Nations representative by the Austrian Government and of an adviser to the National Bank of Austria, a clause subjecting any new loans to consent by the League Committee of Control, an obligation by the Federal

Union to see that the provinces and communes balanced their budgets and, lastly, notification to the National Bank of every public or private credit obtained abroad, if it exceeded the sum of one million schillings. The financial conditions, having regard to the situation at the time, could only be called distinctly favourable. There was no substance at all in the charge that Austrian freedom was sacrificed by the inclusion in the Lausanne Protocols of a fresh recognition of the Geneva Protocols of 1922 and of their stipulation that Austria should enter into no agreements whereby her economic independence might be compromised. For those persons who make that accusation know better than others that the question here at issue turns not so much upon a contractual obligation as upon political will and capacity. Apart from that, the assertion that the Lausanne Protocols embodied a political obligation extending beyond the Geneva Agreement, is untrue in fact, and therefore may be disregarded.

Thus the road to economic reconstruction now lay open to Engelbert Dollfuss. The first and most important foundations of his mighty task were now laid. It next remained by consistent effort to bring about economic recovery, at a moment, too, when the world crisis had only just passed its peak. At the same time courage and determination as well as constantly replenished sources of energy were needed to weather the increasingly violent political storms at home. By the end of 1932 it was already evident that the dispute in Austria was no longer a question of this or that party, nor even of the parliamentary system or a reformed democracy. Austria's very existence was the issue.

CHAPTER TWELVE

VISITS TO GERMANY

THE first few months of the Dollfuss Government were thus fully occupied with the continued struggle to overcome parliamentary difficulties. Again and again we only just managed to succeed, as the result of occurrences which could not have been foreseen and which we were bound to regard as positively the intervention of a higher power, and, not least, as a result of an almost incredible tenacity in negotiation, in overcoming the ultimate and decisive elements of danger in the situation.

A premature abandonment of the struggle, leaving the way clear for other political forces, would first and foremost, as far as could be judged, have meant giving up the Lausanne loan. The consequence would have been chaos in the economic, and, too, without a doubt, the political sphere. The responsibility for this would be bound to fall primarily on those who, against all the dictates of reason, were resisting the reconstruction of the country's economy; but it would also fall upon those who deserted their posts in the hour of danger.

Dollfuss knew this. And that is why he stayed, and allowed himself to be called an office-seeker and traitor, allowed his whole past and his name to be besmirched in the most flagrant manner, and his aims and convictions to be calumniated. That is why he took up a struggle which was at first bound to appear hopeless, both at home and

abroad. He was able to do this because he was absolutely convinced of the rightness of the path he was taking, and inspired by the will to preserve the integrity of Austria; because he believed completely in his country and its message of freedom, and because the more the flames of the attack encompassed him, the more clearly and unshakably did he feel within himself the call to fulfil an historical task at a decisive moment. "The country must live even if we are to die." This belief, which, far from having a purely rhetorical significance for him, was one of the profoundest convictions of his inmost being, found expression repeatedly in his speeches during the second half of the year 1932.

Many members of his cabinet too were faced, quite apart from the more restricted tasks of their own ministries, with fundamental questions, the solution of which the new epoch demanded in completely changed circumstances.

At first, of course, the government preserved its pronouncedly coalition character, and it was frequently extremely difficult to get unanimity in the cabinet itself. At that time no one dreamed of the suppression of parliament or of any other radical solution of the crisis of democracy; appeal to the parties and not the elimination of the parties was the watchword. But it was clear to everyone that the country, bleeding as it was from hundreds of newly-opened wounds, could not, if its welfare were not to be seriously prejudiced, afford the luxury of continued electoral struggles, and that, furthermore, the period of governmental crises must for the time being be brought to an end. Since Seipel's resignation in the spring of 1929—that is, within the space of three years—there had been six changes in the chancellorship, each involving danger in delay.

Dollfuss was thus faced with the difficult task of maintaining, by constant diplomacy and tact, a united front in the cabinet, a front which suffered from the tension which from time to time arose between the Heimatschutz and the Land-

bund, and also between these two organizations and the representatives of the various viewpoints in the Christian Socialist camp.

On one question, however, there was no difference of opinion in the cabinet: the necessity and expediency of preserving as good and as close relations as possible with the Reich. Not a single voice was raised in support of any other line of foreign policy, and the Chancellor himself in particular accepted without question the cultural unity of all German peoples.

A thousand and one threads, some of them of a purely emotional character, bound Dollfuss to the Reich. Little as he himself was given to the Austrian failing of lack of self-respect and blind, often unreasoning, worship of everything beyond the frontiers of Austria, to him nevertheless the conception and conviction of a common German destiny, a common German cultural heritage, were a matter of course.

It was precisely this latter concept that I too had repeatedly, both in an official and unofficial capacity, striven to impress on the consciousness of the Austrian public. Even at the risk of being misunderstood by the timid in my own country, I had again and again deliberately stressed the importance of Germanic thought, the Germanic spirit, Germanic culture.

Already at an earlier period my travels had frequently taken me to Bavaria, where I had ties of personal friendship with various representatives of the younger generation who had served in the War and were active in politics. These connections with adherents of the Bavarian Volkspartei (People's Party) were also from time to time viewed with suspicion in certain quarters. One thing I should like to state categorically; I never in a single instance came across any separatist plans or tendencies. There were differences between the Prussians and the Bavarians, revolving primarily round constitutional and budgetary questions. But absolute

loyalty to the Reich was complete and unquestioning amongst all those whom I had an opportunity of meeting. As far as my own experience is concerned, I regard even the danger of the so-called Main-Danube policy, a bogey raised by opponents from time to time in the course of the political struggle, as a malicious invention on the part of certain political visionaries who made it their business to impute to these perfectly natural personal contacts, based on affinities of race and mentality, certain aims which, on calm deliberation, can only be characterized as utter folly. It is, in particular, unjust to level the charge of disloyalty against the German Catholics. Still less, of course, did any such aims ever exist amongst us in Austria, and I never came across any groups or personalities worthy of serious attention who gave even a moment's consideration to the so-called Catholic South German solution of the German question, with its detrimental consequences to the unity of the Reich.

In connection with the negotiations in Lausanne, Dollfuss had met the then Chancellor of the Reich, Herr von Papen, whom we had both met the previous year when he had attended the Christian Social Congress in Klagenfurt as the delegate of the German Centre Party. Dollfuss and von Papen had got on well together, and ever since then Dollfuss had laid great stress on personal relations, the gaining of direct impressions and verbal discussions. This belief of his in direct contacts went so far that, with his proneness to act on the inspiration of the moment and to make sudden decisions, he was from time to time even prepared to arrange impromptu meetings at a moment's notice.

In September 1932 the National Catholic Congress was being held in Essen, and I had gladly accepted an invitation to deliver an address at one of the big gatherings. I had been all the more ready to accept inasmuch as I had not forgotten the impression made upon me by the Congress held in Frankfurt in the year 1921, which I had been privileged to attend immediately after completion of my legal studies.

It was also of particular interest to me to visit the Ruhr for the first time, and moreover I welcomed any opportunity of establishing contact with German Catholic circles, particularly as there were certain implicit points of conflict which were of special interest to us in Austria and which needed clarification by means of a personal exchange of ideas. Notwithstanding the fact that there was complete agreement between us and the Catholics of Western Germany in all ultimate questions and that we acknowledged ourselves members of one race, there were at times quite perceptible shades of differences in feeling. And this was the very sphere in which if misunderstandings and unjust judgments were to be obviated, it was important to avoid wounding susceptibilities. I well remember that in earlier years, on the occasion of joint congresses of a religious and political character, Austria's "baroque Catholicism" had come in for some pretty sharp criticism; the performance of a Mass by Bruckner, for example, on the occasion of a Congress in Innsbruck of the German Catholic University Federation was regarded by the clergy from Western and Northern Germany as a profanation of the Church; it was, they said, a performance suited only to a concert hall. What wonder then that we should think with apprehension of our Haydn, Mozart or Schubert, without whom in Austria the Catholic heaven is inconceivable.

The May services, too, with their peculiar form of Virgin worship, a custom with the profoundest and firmest roots in the religious life of the people in our Alpine provinces, were regarded with suspicion in the same quarter. We were too fond of externals, too sensuous, and thus verged perilously on paganism, a young priest at the Congress had assured me; statements which I had, of course, vehemently contradicted.

It was with all the greater feeling of expectancy that I looked forward to the great Congress in the Rhineland. The topics to be discussed were confined exclusively to the religious sphere, and the utmost pains had been taken to avoid

all reference to political questions. I was entrusted with the task of speaking on "Christ in the modern Metropolis".

Some days before my departure the Chancellor announced to me that he too proposed to go to Essen for the Congress; not as the head of the government but simply as a Catholic who set store by attending this great demonstration of faith on the part of the German people. He asked me if I would travel with him by air. I was, of course, ready to do this; not very willingly I must confess, for I had been looking forward to the train journey, and air travel was not yet at that time a definitely enjoyable experience to everyone. A single-engine four-seater plane, the one in which the Chancellor made his later trips over the Alps to Rome, took us via Munich and Frankfurt-on-Main to Essen, where we Austrians received the warmest of welcomes.

Unforgettable days followed, which made the deepest impression on me. The vast Congress was ideally carried out both from a spiritual and from an organizational point of view, and there was not the slightest perceptible disharmony; all the differences of opinion to which I have just referred and of which we had been conscious at Innsbruck seemed to have vanished; the spirit of German Catholicism was voiced in impressive harmony and unison.

Apart from the public meetings, which all went off with an entire absence of friction, a cold shadow could be sensed here and there. The former German Chancellor, Heinrich Brüning, for example, was down on the programme to deliver a lecture, and von Papen, at that time Chancellor of Germany, who himself comes of a Westphalian Catholic family, had also been invited to the Congress. Now Brüning, we were told, had refused to appear at the Congress if von Papen was coming. The Chancellor in his turn had declared that he refused to have limitations placed on his freedom of action. However that may have been, neither Brüning nor von Papen put in an appearance.

Dollfuss was warmly welcomed among the group of

Catholic scholars and for his part took the opportunity of expressing his firm solidarity with the German people. He spoke of Vienna as the second German town and invited the Congress to meet there the next year.

His suggestion was enthusiastically received, and we Austrians left Essen in high spirits, inspired and sped on our way by the sincere wishes of our fellow-members to see us again the following year.

The powerful impression made on me by the Conference was intensified by a visit to the Krupp works, which I made under the guidance of a particularly charming escort, by a visit to the vast Ruhr coal dumps and finally by a trip to the unforgettable, wonderful German town of Cologne.

Scarcely more than three months later I paid a further visit to Germany; this was the period when we believed in the possibility of completing the reform of our criminal law and producing a more or less unified penal code for Germany and Austria. In response to an invitation from the Berlin Law Society I had undertaken to deliver a lecture in Berlin on January 14, 1933, on the unification of the penal code. In connection with this lecture I visited the Reich Minister of Justice, Dr. Gürtner, and was warmly received by him. Lunch was followed by a reception organized by the Minister of Justice and attended by a number of the leading German jurists, including both practising lawyers and scholars, and the most influential parliamentary representatives of the Penal Code Commission in the German Reichstag. Amongst them was the National-Socialist Bavarian deputy, Dr. Frank, later state and Reich Minister, who, to the best of my recollection, was at that time chairman of the Penal Code Commission in the Reichstag. I gathered in the course of a conversation with Dr. Frank that his party group in the Reichstag would put no difficulties in the way of the efforts being made to unify the penal code, and that he regarded the labours carried out up to that moment by the two parliamentary commissions as a workable basis for the carrying

out of the task. At this same reception I issued a personal invitation to Dr. Gürtner, the Reich Minister of Justice, to express the German point of view on the question of a unified penal code in a lecture before the Viennese jurists, which he accepted with the remark that he had in any case long been intending to pay a visit to Vienna.

I mention this incident because subsequently Dr. Frank referred to this conversation in Berlin when writing as Bavarian Minister of State to inform me, as Austrian Minister of Justice, of his visit to Vienna on the invitation of the Vienna District Leadership of the Austrian National Socialist Party, a visit which, as is well known, led to such disagreeable and regrettable consequences.

As a member of the Austrian Government I had, of course, on the occasion of my stay in Berlin, requested to be received in the highest quarters in the Reich, by the President and the Chancellor, and it was with particular gratification and feelings of the highest anticipation that I received a message through our Legation that President Hindenburg was willing to grant me an audience.

I had been told that the Field-Marshal was accustomed to begin a conversation by inquiring after the war service of his visitor. The audience had been fixed for twelve noon. Punctually on the stroke we drove up to the President's Palace, and a few moments later I was standing in the study of the Head of the German Reich. The President, who seemed like some living and awe-inspiring monument, stood erect at his desk, which was placed near the tall windows that overlooked the wintry garden. This personal meeting with the Field-Marshal who is so familiar to us Austrians as well as to the Germans naturally moved me very deeply. The expressive head of the Great War generalissimo, which seemed as though chiselled out of stone, must surely remain unforgettably in the memory of anyone who has had the signal honour of meeting him personally. The President turned at once to the subject of the Tyrol and the Tyrolese

fronts, speaking, with an amazing command of detail, of his memories, which went back to the long-past days when he had been a captain, of the Lake of Garda and the surrounding mountains. In words of warm sympathy he inquired about Austria and its troubles, and assured the Austrian soldiers in particular of his enduring admiration for and interest in them. Naturally we were scrupulously careful to avoid giving the slightest political turn to the conversation.

This meeting with Hindenburg, brief though it was, is numbered among the most enduring impressions of my life.

I was conducted from the President's Palace to the Chancellery, where I was to be received by the Chancellor, General von Schleicher, the most punctilious of men, who welcomed me with formal and restrained friendliness. The conversation turned at first on various questions of the moment which did not lie directly in the political sphere; at that time the appointment of the new Austrian Minister in Berlin was under discussion, and I had been given certain instructions in Vienna as to the line I should take. We Austrians had never felt that the Chancellor was particularly interested in Austria or had any personal sympathy with our problems, and so the subject of Austria now scarcely entered into our conversation. General von Schleicher showed himself, on the other hand, to be exceptionally optimistic with regard to the state of affairs in the Reich, of which he talked in very lively terms, particularly as regards its economic and political prospects. Without any actual prompting on my part he turned the conversation round to internal political developments in Germany. I remember clearly the words he used in this connection: he was endeavouring, he said, to establish contacts throughout the trades union organizations, and hoped in this way to build up a sound political platform which would ensure a peaceful and prosperous development of the political situation; Herr Hitler was no longer a problem, his movement had ceased to be a political danger, the

whole problem had been solved, it was a thing of the past. I cannot vouch for the exact wording of his next remark, but the sense of it was that an effort had been made to arrive at some agreement with regard to the collaboration of the Nazis in the government, but that they had demanded the Ministry of War, obviously in full awareness that he could not surrender this Ministry to them. . . .

As may be imagined, this conversation, the other party to which is no longer alive, aroused my keen interest. I even made a note of the date: it was January 15, 1933.

One more agreeable invitation was extended to me that noon, to lunch with Herr von Papen. My escort pointed out to me that Herr von Papen, General von Schleicher's predecessor in the Chancellorship, still occupied the Chancellor's apartments, so that this third meeting would not involve my going very far.

A good deal of the conversation with Herr von Papen, by whom I was warmly welcomed, was about Austria, which he knew well; we talked of Seipel and Dollfuss and got on extremely well together. I remember being particularly surprised at being suddenly asked in the midst of our conversation whether I had yet met the Emperor Otto that day. I replied with some astonishment that I had not, and von Papen then told me that Otto of Habsburg had actually arrived in Berlin that very day to enter on a course of studies—a fact of which neither I myself nor the Austrian Legation had had the slightest inkling. It was only on the next day that the announcement of his arrival appeared in the press, that is, when I had already left Berlin. I was somewhat perturbed, because experience had taught me that on such occasions the wildest and most ill-founded conjectures are apt to go the round.

My next visit, during the course of the afternoon of January 15th, was to the Reichstag, where I called upon the Prelate Schreiber, the well-known deputy of the Centre Party, and leader of the League of German Catholics Abroad.

Here too I encountered a surprising degree of optimism with regard to Germany's economic and political future, which made a very profound impression on me, particularly as I had no cause whatever to doubt the veracity of this agreeable picture of the situation. The idea of founding a German Catholic University in Salzburg also came under discussion. Prelate Schreiber, whom we Austrians revered and esteemed as a friend and champion of Austria and a man with a profound knowledge of many of its problems, seemed to me to be somewhat sceptical. This meeting with Schreiber gave me great pleasure and inspired me with considerable confidence.

A short visit to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, von Neurath, who referred to the desirability of a speedy appointment to the vacant post of Austrian Minister in Berlin, brought my programme for the day to a close.

In the evening I went on to Cologne, where, on the invitation of the Görres Society, I was to deliver a further lecture on the subject of "Austria and the Concept of the Reich". My arguments, which I had had an opportunity of putting forward on a previous occasion with considerable response on the part of my public, now met, surprisingly enough, with opposition. My thesis that there should be no further talk of the *Anschluss*, which implied something mechanical, but of the *Zusammenschluss* (alliance), which had a cultural and spiritual significance, was refuted in an influential journalistic quarter of the Catholic camp with the argument that it was impossible to see why all of a sudden there was to be no further question of the *Anschluss*; that this was obviously a case of Austrian particularism, which was a recent departure, and would not find favour in German Catholic circles. I endeavoured to refute this point of view, which was put forward by the *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, though I gained the impression that I was not entirely successful in so doing. None of us knew at that time that the days of the *Kölnische Volkszeitung* too were numbered.

I had scarcely returned to Vienna when the impressions I had taken home with me from Berlin and Cologne were to a great extent obliterated by the course of events. Exactly fourteen days later the leader of the German National Socialist Party, Adolf Hitler, assumed the Chancellorship of the German Reich.

Two months later, in the latter half of March, a lecture tour which had been arranged some time previously took me once again to Germany, this time to Weimar.

The Association of German Administrative Jurists were holding a conference. As in previous years, Austrian delegates had also been invited—high officials in the various ministries—and I had been appointed chief delegate. The subject upon which I had to discourse was concerned with constitutional developments in the Reich and in Austria. In the manuscript of my lecture the following sentence occurs: "Even before the Great War the states of Central Europe were developing constitutionally along fundamentally parallel lines. Whereas in the Republics and Monarchies of Western Europe, the world saw pronouncedly democratic conceptions thrust to the fore, and the East and South-East, on the other hand, were regarded, despite certain as yet very undeveloped tendencies towards parliamentarism, as predominantly absolutist, it had become customary to look upon the states in Central Europe as highly disciplined states, in which the firmly-established, dominant position of the Crown, side by side with and over above the parliaments, lent the constitution its unmistakable stamp. But Central Europe was and is German territory, and even at that time the old Austria was situated in it. . . ."

I am indebted to the time I spent in Weimar, and to conversations with a number of interesting personalities with regard to the growth of the new state the contours of which were slowly beginning to take shape as the Third Reich, for a wealth of fresh and inspiring ideas. There was unmistakable evidence of the will to national unity, the deter-

mination to liquidate old conflicts, the search for new legal forms. A newspaper office closed down here and there, a proclamation placarded on a wall, were the only visible signs one saw of the upheaval.

But it was precisely in Weimar that one was made far more vividly aware of the unchanging, the timeless, the immutable, than of these purely transitory questions. A walk to the Wittumspalais, a visit to the Princes' crypt, where one stood in reverent silence before the sarcophagi of Goethe and Schiller—all this must be counted among the unique, incomparable experiences Weimar had to offer, experiences that will remain unforgettable for anyone who has learned, like us in Austria, to acknowledge himself heir to the German cultural heritage and hence to the imperishable ideals of humanity.

It is strange, this German world of ours, in its development; vast is the extent of its spiritual domain. Strange, too, is the way in which, despite the variety of views, ideas and forms within it, it ever and again rallies round certain spiritual landmarks; even though a century may have intervened, as in Weimar. It was there that Goethe died in 1832, Nietzsche in 1900. Goethe, who in the perfect harmony of his life's work presented to the German people and the world the sublime, immortal song of man; Nietzsche, who in heroic fanfares proclaimed man's overthrow by the Superman.

But something over and beyond their genius is common to both of them.

What Goethe says in the "Xenien":

Ursprünglich eigenen Sinn
Lass dir nicht rauben
Woran die Menge glaubt
Ist leicht zu glauben,¹

¹ Do not let yourself be robbed of your true self. It is easy to believe what the crowd believes.

FAREWELL AUSTRIA

Nietzsche too might have said.

I shall refer later on in another connection to a further trip to Germany, which took me, seven months later, to Munich.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

STRUGGLE FOR AUSTRIA

THE year 1933 was at its opening already visibly overcast by the shadows of the outpost skirmishes which subsequently followed one upon another in swift succession and led to the final catastrophe. For our country once more, as so often in its history, the fateful hour had struck. The responsible leaders of the nation were faced with the problem of whether or not to yield to pressure, to lower the red, white and red flag, to renounce complete national independence: that is to say, whether to give up Austria, or to keep it.

The man who decided in favour of keeping Austria was bound to realize that this would involve a life and death struggle; had to bear in mind the responsibility to history that the embarking on such a struggle, even though the outcome seemed at first highly uncertain, necessarily involved. He had to be clear as to the economic possibilities for our country, had, above all, also to understand its position in Europe and its importance within the orbit of German culture; had to be determined, by staking all his forces and adhering unconditionally to his principles, and with no other end in view but the salvation of Austria, to uphold the Patriotic Front against all attacks, from whatever direction they might come.

Many of the events of the years 1933 and 1934, and particularly the toll of victims that they exacted in every direction, were quite certainly not wished for by Dollfuss and his co-workers; they were neither brought about on

purpose nor allowed to happen through negligence, and everything that was humanly possible was done to avert the mischief. Throughout the whole of the year 1933, Dollfuss had, Sunday after Sunday, in all parts of the country, made innumerable speeches elucidating the position, had pleaded, pointed out the dangers, explained his intentions, justified his measures, pointed out the roads which, for every Austrian who professed his adherence to his Fatherland, could safely be taken. When, despite this, revolts broke out in February and July 1934, he had no option but to be defeated in the struggle for Austria or to gain the victory. Victory was synonymous with the overthrow of the Putschists, defeat would have increased the number of victims tenfold, condemned to misery and wretchedness six and a half million people, including those who had risen in armed revolt against their own country, and kindled a firebrand in the midst of Europe which might only too easily have brought about a repetition of the miseries which ever since July 1914 had been a grim and painful memory in the minds of all men of conscience and responsibility.

The first and most indispensable step to be taken was to appeal to the nation to consolidate its forces; no struggle can be waged for the existence of a state when the country's forces are split into warring factions, each striving for its own political advantage. The second essential condition of success was a call to arms of all those able and willing to defend their Fatherland; a call made not in order to attack or to threaten—for such an attitude, in the then state of affairs, was never in question—but purely for purposes of self-defence. The Treaty of Versailles had limited the armed forces of the state numerically and technically to a minimum; hence the Citizens' Defence Corps had come into being and were used by the state at critical moments. A third condition was the safeguarding of the economic resources of the country, the opening out of new avenues leading to fresh markets, so as to counter successfully any

possible trade boycott which might bring Austria to her knees. Hence the signing of the Rome Protocols with Italy and Hungary and the untiring efforts to revive trade by the conclusion of preferential tariff treaties.

The vigorous suppression of any counter-offensive on the part of elements speculating on shattering, intimidating and splitting the nation's forces, whether in the sphere of internal politics or economic life, was the fourth essential condition for success; hence legislation and administrative measures of a war-time character had to be introduced, a task which was doubly difficult since from the outset it was obvious that despite the employment of emergency measures, any suggestion of unconstitutional action must be avoided, and respect for the principles of objective justice maintained. The state of affairs whereby anyone could do and cause to be done what he pleased, particularly when, as a holder of office, he had special obligations to the state, had certainly to be brought to an end. Injustices and hardships may have been involved in individual cases—that is always so in abnormal times; but there is no doubt that, comparatively speaking, Austria, even at the time of its hardest struggle, employed by far the mildest measures of all countries, gave opportunities for bodies outside the state apparatus to exert the most extensive checks on the actions of the government, and, in spite of everything, could point, numerically speaking, to the smallest toll of victims.

And yet the whole course of events in no way followed the lines of a preconceived plan. It was not a struggle for power in the state that caused Dollfuss to tread new paths; it was, rather, the continually and dramatically intensified struggle for the preservation, not of his regime, but of the Fatherland. This struggle, which was forced upon him, led, after a series of senseless, mischievous and hence futile revolts had been put down, to the Austrian revolution. There has been talk from time to time of the so-called reactionary forces who were alleged to have overthrown democracy in Austria.

Democracy in Austria, in the form in which it had existed so far, was doomed from the very moment that it became obvious that too many, alas, of its supporters had not really at heart the preservation of the integrity of their country, and had endeavoured from time to time to carry through their aims with foreign aid from one country or another. These aims were clearly set forth in the public declaration, some years before, of the most authoritative section of the Socialist leadership, that democracy only represented a transitional stage along the path leading to the setting up of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. It may be that this formulation of their political aims was made out of tactical considerations, as a means of offsetting the propaganda of the Communists, who had no footing in our country. But in fundamental questions the too frequent employment of tactical measures is sometimes dangerous, for it serves to screen the true aims of a party.

If there is any talk of reaction it can only refer to the events of 1918: the overthrow of the Monarchy, the collapse of the Fatherland, the Treaty of Versailles and all its consequences. The revolution of 1918 was frenziedly put down in the years 1933 and 1934. The new revolution, however, put one thing in the forefront of its programme in the event of victory, and that one thing its defeated opponents had certainly neither contemplated nor even considered: the reawakening of patriotic feeling for the Fatherland, of the will to uphold the state, and, arising out of it, of the faith in Austria. This faith was not rediscovered and implanted in the masses by the political parties, nor by the economic, scientific or religious forces that carried most weight in the state, still less by that section of the Conservatives who were concerned first and foremost with the form of the state and did not stop to reflect that the preservation of that state was the primary and fundamental condition for any possible later development. To have been the first promulgator of this idea, its standard-bearer and martyr, was the service rendered

to history by Engelbert Dollfuss. The struggle for Austria became more and more acute from the last months of 1932 onwards, and reached a point of the utmost dramatic tension.

At first this struggle was carried on in parliament and in the Austrian press; ranging from frivolous criticism, through cynical distortion of everything to do with Austria, to the vilest slandering and calumny of its leader. An unbridled campaign was launched which employed every weapon at the command of journalists in a country with unrestricted freedom of the press, in order to drown public opinion in a sea of printers' ink. Criminal proceedings could not be taken under the existing state of the law, since any pamphlet, once it had been read over before any parliamentary body came under the constitutional provisions for parliamentary immunity, and could neither be banned nor impugned.

Even in this first stage of the struggle concessions would have meant surrender. Hence there followed, step by step, at first hesitatingly and always a little belatedly, a series of measures directed towards the revision of the press laws and the criminal code, the object of which was to protect the vital interests of the state. Parliament displayed less inclination than ever to accommodate itself to the exigencies of a truly critical moment by a wise limitation of its own powers. Thus conflicts were bound to arise. An incident, trivial enough in itself, led at the beginning of March to an irreconcilable difference of opinion between the government camp and the opposition on a question of parliamentary procedure. As a protest against the fact that he could not establish his authority in the conduct of the debate, the President of the Chamber announced his intention of resigning.

But this was no time for a parliamentary crisis; it was not parliament, but the state that was in danger. Dollfuss prepared to take energetic measures. The Federal Parliament

itself provided him with the necessary legal excuse.

From this moment it was clear that a fundamental revision of the constitution was to be expected. All the more actively did the extra-parliamentary forces, which were furnished with increasingly abundant resources and received more and more encouragement in all quarters, bestir themselves. Beginning with unimportant brawls and more or less harmless clashes—one of the first occurred at the Viennese Country Club in Lainz—the outpost skirmishes began to develop into the decisive conflicts of the years to follow; furthermore, tear-gas bomb outrages were perpetrated during the Christmas of 1932 in certain stores in Vienna. This was the signal for the introduction of a policy of wearing down the national morale by attacks on its economic life. It was assumed that these tactics would force Dollfuss to yield.

His answer was inevitably the introduction of more vigorous precautionary measures and the extension of police powers. There ensued a period during which the propaganda of the opposition became increasingly visible and open. At first the party symbols appeared discreetly in out-of-the-way places; then on the walls of houses, on doors, on the shutters of shops, advertisement pillars, benches, and pavements, and eventually on milestones, the high-roads, the trees on each side of the main streets; every possible opportunity was taken to greet both native and foreigner day and night with screaming political slogans. Their object, however, was not first and foremost the attainment of power in the country so as to govern it better and more justly; but rather, as was obvious from the nature of the slogans and the political propaganda used in handbills and so forth, the belittlement and repudiation of Austria. Hence, after long and patient warning, the sternest counter-measures were the only possible reply. "Putzscharen" (Cleaning-up Squads) were formed, the function of which was to see that anyone caught flyposting or chalking up slogans should be forced



CARDINAL INNITZER

E.N.A.

to clean up the signs of their handiwork under police supervision and to pay for the damage done. It transpired that in many cases the actual offenders were youthful unemployed who had been hired for the purpose at a fixed remuneration by the hour. In such cases it was only natural and fair that the real authors of these deeds should be found and made to make amends.

Noisy demonstrations at meetings, in cinemas, at concert halls, with the object of stirring up clashes, were typical of the next stage. Increasing radicalization of the Left, which from time immemorial has seen its arch-enemy in the extreme right camp, was the inevitable result. And when here and there armed conflicts took place the same farce was always repeated: the one side would accuse the other of beginning the whole thing, both would accuse the police and the authorities of giving protection to the other side, and both would sneer in their party newspapers at the weakness of the Chancellor, who was unable to cope with this witches' sabbath of unleashed political passions.

But Dollfuss was by no means weak; he had not the slightest intention of allowing anyone, either friend or foe, to dictate to him how or when he should take action. He did not wish to bring the situation to a head prematurely; he was determined to let slip no opportunity which would bring a peaceful solution, obviating a large toll of victims, within the realm of possibility. He knew how to wait, and he knew that the whole thing was not a mere question of the moment, but of the whole future of Austria. Hence, despite all hesitation he was at that moment resolved to take decisive action.

The struggle continued in all parts of Austria.

The unwritten law according to which the police were not permitted to enter the precincts of the universities or Technical High Schools made it possible for frequent demonstrations to be held at which, often enough, outside elements assembled on some prearranged pretext in order

to create disturbances on the stairs, and in the lecture-rooms and halls of the universities. This state of things had always existed, even in the old Austria, and again and again the matter had been allowed to rest at warnings and admonitions. But now these university brawls were exploited as a method of carrying on the political struggle. Disgraceful scenes were of everyday occurrence. The singing of the national anthem, indeed any profession of patriotic faith whatever on academic premises was declared an act of provocation, and prevented with might and main.

The reply to this was drastic enforcement of law and order. For the first time the guardians of public safety entered the academic precincts, the extra-territorial status of which came to a well-deserved end; the system of self-government among the students was reformed; the same rule must apply in the universities as elsewhere in Austria and all over the world: the guilty must pay the penalty. For the rest, everyone could think and feel what and how he pleased, so long as the purpose of the university as a place of learning, culture and education was maintained. A short, artificially-stimulated storm of indignation accompanied by the inevitable protests—and then there was peace and quiet.

The more it became obvious that these methods of intimidation were unavailing, and that Austria was resolved at all costs to preserve its independence and would not shrink, if need be, from those measures for the protection of the state that had long since been employed across the frontier, the more bitter grew the struggle that raged throughout the land and the protagonists of which now showed themselves prepared to resort to the most desperate methods. Bombing and dynamiting were introduced into Austrian politics. At first, mere paper caps were used, with the object primarily of producing a loud noise; then followed outrages with bombs, infernal machines and explosives of every description, all designed to prepare the atmosphere necessary for civil war. Bridges, roads, telegraph installations, as well

as houses and people whom it was desired to put out of the way, were approved objects of attack. Let us refrain from recapitulating the long list of terrorist acts that led up to the melancholy events in Austria at that period; let us not speak even of the economic boycott, of the persistent attempt, by the dissemination of disquieting rumours, such as, for example, the rumour of an imminent forced loan, and of the government's intention to seize the people's savings, to wear down the nerves of the Austrian people, which in any case were sufficiently on edge; let us not dwell on the insane methods that were recommended to force the government to retreat, such as the smokers' strike, the tax-payers' strike, the boycott of public institutions and organizations, or on the continually repeated false alarms, sounded up and down the country, of a march on Austria and its occupation by the armed Austrian Legion, composed of Austrian refugees in Germany, which was alleged to be going to take place within the next six weeks. Those six weeks had begun in the winter of 1932, and subsequently had to be extended to three months! Nor let us speak of the Legion as such, for which, according to historical models, a regular recruiting campaign had been carried on in Austria: nor of the political murders which took place from time to time, nor the attempted assassinations, the object of which was to spread fear and terror. These shall not be spoken of here; they are a thing of the past and will, we hope, never happen again. To give these things at least passing mention and not entirely to bury them in the oblivion that time brings with it, is unavoidable for two considerations; first, because one must know of all this in order to understand the counter-measures which had to be adopted, and secondly, because we can only obtain a true picture of the years that followed, if we know what wounds were inflicted, bear in mind how deep they went, and can gauge the time required for them to heal.

In such a state of affairs it was inevitable that events should at times positively pile one upon another. In June

1933 at Krems some German Christian gymnasts were marching along innocently when they were attacked from the rear with hand-grenades. As a result, one man was killed and several severely wounded; whereupon the Austrian National Socialist Party was forbidden to engage in any form of activity.

It should here be remarked that at that time this party depended on forces which were not native to Austria. The most powerful influence in the party was wielded by the growing number of political émigrés—for the most part people who had lost their Austrian nationality, for anyone in Austria who had infringed the law and had fled to escape the consequences was deprived of civic rights. In addition, there were, however, here and there all over Austria, district leaders and inspectors who likewise could not claim Austrian nationality, so that National Socialism in Austria had actually for long ceased more and more to have the character of an internal Austrian and internal political movement.

To Dollfuss and his colleagues it was clear that the onslaught could not be met solely with the resources at the disposal of the Executive and the State legal and administrative machinery. A further most important condition of success, apart from the four already mentioned, was that all those Austrians who professed their faith in the Fatherland should be rallied, their ranks as closed as possible, to stem the tide. There was a long way to go, it is true, before this aim could be achieved. There were various groups to be reckoned with in the cabinet itself, groups which had fundamentally long been unanimous, it is true, on the necessity for defensive action, but which very frequently represented opposing schools of thought with regard to the most expedient methods to employ. It was by no means easy for the Chancellor to mediate between the Landbund and the Heimatschutz and so gradually to prepare the path which should lead away from past conceptions of coalition

and towards the establishment of a firm common line on which every group should of its own free will take up the place assigned to it without the inducement of promises, compromises or special concessions. To establish this political unity, while at the same time eliminating the party spirit, was the main aim and objective of the Patriotic Front.

May 1933 first gave this idea concrete shape, although the name, the symbol and a form of organization was as yet not firmly established. The Heimatschutz had organized a great demonstration, which was to set out from the park in Schönbrunn, to commemorate the liberation of Vienna from the Turks. The whole government camp was assembled for the occasion. Prince Starhemberg made a speech outlining his policy in which he placed the Heimatschutz at the service of the Chancellor for the defence of Austrian freedom, and explicitly declared himself in favour of a free and independent Austria. Engelbert Dollfuss appeared for the first time in his old uniform of a lieutenant of the Imperial Chasseurs. His reply, in which he called upon his audience clearly and plainly to profess their faith in the Fatherland, evoked a storm of genuine enthusiasm. We were all of us seized with a profound determination to prove ourselves firm and resolute. For anyone who had for years sought the true Austria and who had the interests of the Fatherland at heart this moment in Schönbrunn was an unforgettable experience. Later I felt that it had been the birthday of the new Austria.

A good many were with us on that occasion who in the course of the following months found themselves, for some reason or other, taking up an entirely different standpoint. I recall in particular a neighbour of mine, a man who had rendered the old Fatherland, and later on its memory, signal service, and who held a special post at that time on the staff of the Heimatschutz. Subjecting my work as Minister of Justice to a critical examination, he said in these very words: "As for me, I know the Nazis. The only thing that is effective against them is brute force. You won't get anywhere

with them by merely throwing them into prison. Justice and leniency are utterly futile. For them there is only one thing. . . ." I have not, indeed, forgotten the method he recommended, but we did not accept his suggestion in practice nor is there any point in my now recalling it. This conversation came back particularly vividly to me some years later when I had to adjudicate on a petition for pardon presented to me by this very same man, not, by the way, without success; in the interval he had found himself thrown into prison on suspicion of having taken part in a bomb-throwing outrage as a member of the National Socialist Party. Thus times and party colours change; but fundamentally, thank God, only in isolated cases and occasionally, and usually only when political conviction and personal ambition dwell too closely together.

The Schönbrunn demonstration of the spring of 1933 broke the ice, as I have already said. Not because it went off without friction; the march through the town gave rise to moments of considerable anxiety at various points on the route. Here and there large groups had assembled, which seemed ready to break through the cordon of police and to attack the marching columns. At that time the "reds" and the "browns" were like blood brothers, and it was impossible to decide the political brand of a good many of the missiles. But it was only a minority that was hostile. The majority of the people of Vienna and of Austria looked upon the demonstration as a token of liberation. The nightmare was over; those who were fighting for Austria were inspired with fresh confidence and fresh energy; and, in particular, the need for standing shoulder to shoulder, the need for unity, was more clearly realized than ever.

For the first time, too, all the other voluntary defence corps had participated in a demonstration organized by the Heimatschutz. After this people's thoughts were increasingly exercised by the idea of the building up of a common front. Various attempts to do so were made; at first, how-

ever, owing to the special desires of these or those groups who were represented in the government camp, these attempts led to nothing. In the end, notwithstanding, the Chancellor succeeded in establishing the idea of the Patriotic Front, at least in its broad outlines. It was to be at first nothing more than a common roof keeping together all those who acknowledged their determination to uphold the freedom of Austria and who pledged themselves to wear as a symbol of that determination the badge of the common front, which was from the outset the red, white and red ribbon worn in the buttonhole. It was clear to the Chancellor that a way would have to be found of introducing a transitional stage in the development of the Patriotic Front. It was important, however, to consider the feelings of the various groups and to ensure the co-operation of as many of them as possible. The Christian Socials, for example, had first of all to be weaned from a perfectly explicable, but, in the light of existing events, out-of-date and far too pronouncedly party, standpoint. The Heimatschutz had to be convinced that they could not achieve their goal by demanding complete power in the state. Finally, the Landbund and the other hitherto Pan-German groups had to be persuaded that the espousal of the cause of Austria's independence and freedom did not imply the relinquishing of a national German outlook. To prove this the so-called "Nationalständische"¹ Front was established side by side with the Patriotic Front and given equal rights; it was, naturally, to be subordinate to the central leadership of the Patriotic Front, but would otherwise be free to administer its own affairs. All this inevitably resulted in certain obscurities and furnished an excuse for all kinds of gossip and tittle-tattle. Above all, there was the danger that those who were ready to make a good many sacrifices for the common cause—for example, the Christian Socials, but also the Heimatschutz—would inevitably feel that sacrifices were not being demanded of

¹ National corporate. (*Translators' note.*)

others to the same extent, and that it was being made possible for these others to form a group which did not look altogether unlike a new party. Thus subsequent differences of opinion revolved round the question whether the new government and the political future of the country should be built up on the idea of absolute unity and concentration or whether a new form of collaboration and coalition were not rather to be preferred. A section of the Heimatschutz was in favour of this latter solution, though Prince Starhemberg, it is true, was always in favour of unity. The Chancellor had for some time past frequently discussed this vital question with me. After careful and conscientious reflection the conclusion reached was that each new coalition led to half-measures, and rendered all drastic action both in personal and objective matters impossible, and that the aim to be pursued was undoubtedly a fusion of all the groups in the united Patriotic Front and that this aim must be clearly proclaimed and gradually brought to realization.

In September, after the disturbed months of that summer, the second Catholic Congress opened in Vienna. This Catholic Congress was deliberately planned as an all-German Congress and was associated with the 250th anniversary celebrations of the liberation of Vienna from the Turks in 1683. In connection with it Dollfuss delivered his great speech in the Trabrennplatz, outlining his policy, which included the dissolution of parties, the abolition of the Party State, the creation of the Patriotic Front and the promulgation of a new, corporate constitution for a German, Christian Austria. This meeting, held in the Trabrennplatz on September 11, 1933, was the first clarion call of the Patriotic Front in Austria.

The all-German Catholic Congress in Vienna did not altogether live up to its name; the tension between the Reich and Austria, which was manifested in a number of ways—the thousand marks restriction on German visitors to Austria must here be mentioned in particular—had prevented the

presence at the Congress of Catholics from the Reich. The original object, therefore, of holding a demonstration of all-German culture of a really German character in the classical sense of the word, could not be realized, although the German population of all the Succession States was abundantly represented. The programme and the choice of subjects for discussion laid particular stress, notwithstanding, on the conception of the unity of the German race. The delicate question raised by the varying political ideologies of the German peoples, a question very topical at that period, was completely and tactfully avoided. None of the important addresses made during the course of the Congress verged even superficially on the polemical. Hardly any of the speakers, moreover, could be accused of taking a one-sided and exclusively Austrian point of view. One of the most suspect of all, presumably, was myself. I spoke of the mission of Austria in the Christian West and ended my address with the following summing-up:

" . . . Our faith, and born of it, German culture and German law, should henceforth set their clear and recognizable stamp on our country.

" German law, which had its beginnings in the reverence for the wisdom of the fathers; which classical Roman law inspired through that synthesis of freedom and purposive, indispensable limitations on freedom created by Christian ideas in conjunction with the cultural heritage of our people; which delimits the duties and rights of the individual in relation to family, caste and community; which has always avenged a breach of faith as a sin against the national spirit.

" May the concepts of German law and German culture, combined with the consciousness of our responsibility as Catholics and our bond with the rest of Europe, guide our Fatherland along the difficult, laborious path that lies ahead of it. Again and again in moments of despair Austria, the German troubadour, has found a new voice which has raised up the weary and the despondent with words whose magic

FAREWELL AUSTRIA

sounds have rung out from Vienna and conquered the world. 'Friends, away with grief, let us strike up happier, more joyful notes. . . .' Of the *genius loci* of this city and its mission was born that intoxicating music which, swelling up to heaven, for all time unites Rhine and Danube, Vienna and Weimar, Beethoven and Schiller :

Ihr stürzt neider, Millionen?
Ahnst du den Schöpfer, Welt?
Bruder, überm Sternenzelt
Muss ein guter Vater wohnen.
Such ihn überm Sternenzelt.¹

Austria, German people, Christian West, seek him above the vault of the stars. . . ."

I do not think that these words of mine, which give a faithful picture of the Austrian attitude to fundamental questions, can be said to merit the charge, so often and so frivolously made nowadays, of treason to the German race, which has become the favourite weapon of pot-house politics in Austria. Anyone who rejects these principles is welcome to count us Austrians amongst the so-called traitors, but he should not overlook the fact that at the greatest period of the history of our race the champions of German culture and the champions of the German soul almost exclusively held this point of view.

In the organization of the Congress great stress had been laid on the sound idea of the combination of genuine national views with Austrian Catholic principles from the Austrian standpoint. The conflict between the prevailing nationalist standpoint and the belief in Austrian independence had for some time past been exercising alert Catholic circles. Dollfuss, who by the conclusion of the Concordat

¹ You lie prostrate, O millions?
Do you sense the presence of the Creator, O world?
Brother, above the starry vault
A loving Father must surely dwell.
Seek Him above the vault of the stars.

had satisfactorily regulated the legal relations between Church and state which had been obscure in a number of questions, certainly lent the Congress the stamp of authority and official dignity by his presence as the representative of the state; that he should attend it was a matter of course for one who was constantly mindful of Austria's religious population with its predominantly Catholic majority, and took into account its great traditions; one has only to remember that the Emperor was present at the Bucharest Congress in the year 1912. The mighty manifestation of faith, moreover, on the occasion of the St. Emmerich anniversary three years before, at which the state dignitaries of all denominations had been present, served as a model for Austria. Dollfuss abstained rigorously, however, from exploiting the platform of the Catholic Congress for political purposes. The meeting of the Patriotic Front, held in the Trabrennplatz, took place, it is true, at about the same time as the Catholic Congress, but otherwise it had no connection with it and the various items on its programme. Later on an attempt was made to suggest that the holding of the Catholic Congress after the conclusion of the Concordat was a political trial of strength on the part of clericalism in Austria. The charge was false. If by clericalism the influence of the Church on the government and the power of the clergy in the temporal sphere—in other words more or less disguised clerical domination—is understood, then it must be stated emphatically that developments under Dollfuss and under his successor in office followed an entirely contrary course. Without any intervention on the part of the Chancellor and without his having been previously informed, the Church withdrew its representatives from political posts. The *actio catholica* kept unequivocally aloof from political matters, and scrupulous care was taken to see that there should be no interference in the affairs of the Patriotic Front. The new epoch, it was believed, must bring with it a clear and perceptible delimitation, not a

merging of the spheres of activity of state and Church. The two powers had of necessity to consider each other in so far as common spheres of interest were in question, as for example on the question of religious teaching in the schools; the state made itself responsible for protecting the Church from unwarranted attacks and for seeing that the heritage of religious ideas should not only be left untouched, but should be fittingly respected; the Church, on the other hand, proclaimed its loyalty to the state and its authorities. Catholicism has taken firm root in Austria as the result of a process of historical development over a period of a thousand years, to which state and Church owe a great deal; it has fashioned very largely the cultural outlines of our country, and finds expression in the features of the Austrian landscape, the spirit of Austrian art, and the fundamental traits of the Austrian character. There has never been any question of intolerance and bigotry or sectarianism; both partners, state and Church, preserved full freedom for themselves in their own spheres, including, of course, the right of free speech, of organization and of criticism; full use always is, and always has been, made of these liberties.

Dollfuss and his successor in office repeatedly and solemnly professed their adherence to the principles of the Papal Encyclical of the Anno Quadragesimo. Dollfuss referred to it in the course of his great speech in the Trabennplatz, and again before the League Assembly in Geneva. But the Encyclical must be regarded neither as Catholic political dogma nor as being addressed solely to Catholics; it embodies rather the main lines for a reform of society which shall lead to the overthrow of materialism and the solution of the social question, without reference to creed or denomination. As far as the Concordat is concerned, however, the initial steps towards its conclusion had already been taken by Schober during his chancellorship. Italy concluded a Concordat with the Holy See before Austria, Germany after it; the Concordat has in every respect fulfilled

the hopes placed on it in Austria and paved the way for the beneficial co-operation of Church and state in the interests of the people.

The Catholic Congress was thus a milestone on the path of cultural development in our country. The clarion call of the Patriotic Front sounded in connection with it brought full clarity for the first time as to the future political aims which Dollfuss was determined to achieve with the full and enthusiastic support of his loyal comrades.

Soon after this the internal and external political horizons began to cloud over. Straining every nerve and ignoring all untoward incidents, Dollfuss pursued the line he had mapped out for himself. The fullest possible consolidation of his own forces within the Patriotic Front, the building up and encouragement of the voluntary military formations for the purpose of reinforcing the power and authority of the state, the seeking of ever new ways of dissipating the paralysing distress caused by the economic crisis, and, last but not least, untiring and unremitting attempts to induce his opponents on the left and right to come to their senses and collaborate—these were the constantly recurring leitmotifs of all his political decisions.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE CHOICE IS MADE

THE next nine months witnessed three significant stages in the political life of Austria.

First, the cruel events of February 1934 and the necessary reckoning with the militant forces of Socialism.

Next, the new corporative constitution, which, after exclusion of the former opposition, was decreed by the Nationalrat, as its last legislative act, on May 1, 1934, proclaimed by the Federal President and officially promulgated by Dollfuss.

And, lastly, the conclusion of the Rome Protocols, which, through agreements with Italy and Hungary, safeguarded economic freedom and the vital needs of the state at a critical moment.

It has often been asked since whether the outbreak of February could not have been avoided. Seen in retrospect, events often wear a different aspect from that presenting itself to those who have to deal with them at the time. It is my firm conviction that responsibility for this unhappy explosion does not lie in the course that events had taken since 1932. That political course may possibly have hastened the day of reckoning, but it did not cause it. The primary cause is to be found in the distribution of political force, whereby the Socialists held power in Vienna, while the other parties dominated in the provinces. In a state with a federal basis this is, of course, of decisive importance; at the critical

moment the question for each camp was not how power was divided between them, since in order to gain their ends each needed full and unchallenged authority and would have succumbed if it had shared any of that power with the other. Once Seipel had failed in his attempts of 1931 to form a National Government, a friendly settlement became for ever impossible. That had been the last chance of averting the clash.

The second cause of the mischief lay in the Peace Treaty, which was infallibly bound to breed extremism of all kinds and which, moreover, deprived the state of the means of arming its own forces against internal revolt. Hence the appearance of armed volunteers: these, too, divided into right and left wings. Their mutual rivalry and the stirring up of political passion all round did the rest. As the years went on, harmless rifle practice led to machine-gun drill, thence to field exercises, and later, among the Socialists, to training with bombs and hand-grenades. When two private armies confront each other in a country which has not the power to disarm both, an explosion is inevitable and is merely a question of time. The third cause of trouble was the failure of our democratic institutions.

A postponement of the crisis became quite impossible from the moment that the existence of the state itself was seen to be at stake. There was, then, for Dollfuss no longer any question of a price at which peace with the left wing might be preserved. If he had paid that price, his work and, with it, so far as can be judged, Austria herself would have been destroyed. There seems no doubt at all that co-operation with the Socialist leaders at that time would have given Austrian National Socialism the victory which it tried and failed to secure in the July Putsch of that year. True, the leaders of Socialism were not all of one mind. There were among them extremists and moderates—leaders who favoured a settlement by force of arms, and others who had enough sense of responsibility to

warn their friends of such a leap in the dark. It must in justice be admitted that in 1934 the moderates were faced with a difficult and perhaps an insoluble task. For, if they asserted themselves, there was a danger lest the mass of their supporters, fed for decades on radical slogans, might join hands with those out-and-out extremists who were able to offer more tempting bait. Dollfuss's attempt to win over the more sober and nationally-minded elements therefore failed because others were inwardly afraid of destroying party unity. I myself, within my own sphere of action, tried honestly to compose differences, but whenever it came to fundamentals, the hopelessness of any such efforts was all too apparent. The Socialists were asking the Chancellor to throw overboard the very core of the new constitution. They wanted to preserve party power and to secure the existence of a political state within the state, which at the best could only offer a temporary truce. All this could only have come about if the Chancellor and his colleagues had altered their course and renounced their firm conviction that the only possible hope of saving Austria was by abolishing the party system.

This they would not do. The government could not be held responsible for the February outbreak of 1934, which they neither caused nor, still less, desired, but which must rather be regarded as a natural calamity, brought about by a number of fanatics who, actuated by party spirit and obstinately determined to seize supreme power in a state which they were not otherwise prepared to serve, gave the signal for revolt.

On February 12th was celebrated the usual *Te Deum* in the Stephanskirche on the anniversary of the Pope's coronation. It was the custom of the government to attend this service. Shortly before I set out for the cathedral, I was rung up, as I remember it, on the telephone and told that a bomb had been thrown at my empty house in Innsbruck and had done considerable damage. The incident

had been part of a terrorist demonstration organized and carried out by the Innsbruck Nazis. The bomb was of special manufacture, and was inserted through the letter-box into the hall of the flat, which was on the third floor of a new block. This was my last telephone conversation before the outbreak of the February revolt.

During mass, which ended at about eleven-thirty, the congregation noticed that during the last verse of the papal hymn, with which the service concluded, the electric light in the cathedral grew dim and finally faded out. On returning to the Ministry on the Minoritenplatz, I found that the telephone was not working, and all my attempts to find out what had happened to my belongings in Innsbruck were in vain. Shortly afterwards, news arrived that the first shots had been exchanged in Linz early that morning and that in Vienna, too, the republican Schutzbund was in armed insurrection.

Subsequent events are known from the various official accounts and summarized versions of them. Three horrible days followed, in which Vienna resembled an armed camp and the sound of fire-arms on the outskirts could be clearly heard within the city. The Chancellor at once took steps to see that the public was duly informed of what was happening and appealed, especially, to the Social Democrats to keep cool heads. I myself was instructed the first day to broadcast the government's view, and, later, Dollfuss in person came to the microphone and appealed for the surrender of arms, promising immunity in return for voluntary delivery. The cruel and dreadful happenings attendant upon all civil war could only be held in check, they could no longer be prevented. An attempt was made afterwards to represent the outbreaks as a more or less harmless act of political counter-pressure, to which the government had replied with gross brutality. The answer to that is that the state was faced with a grave emergency and that it was imperatively bound to intervene actively, and with all its

power to stop the trouble from spreading and to prevent further loss of life and property, especially life, on both sides. Plans were afterwards discovered which showed that the irresponsible leaders were in deadly earnest and had systematically prepared the outbreak, not as a measure of defence, but as an attack upon which they were staking all. In the event of success, the intention was to establish a reign of terror, accompanied by the blowing up of public buildings, the setting up of prearranged revolutionary tribunals, the preparation of black lists and all the paraphernalia familiar from the Bela Kun epoch in Hungary and Kurt Eisner's *putsch* in Munich. The most difficult part of the government's task was to overcome the powerful military defences, established long previously, at the new Gemeindehaus, and their capture unhappily involved serious loss of life on both sides.

The total casualties on the government side were one hundred and twenty-eight dead and four hundred and nine wounded—of these, fifty-two dead and one hundred and three wounded belonged to the voluntary defence corps—while the total on the other side, including civilians accidentally involved, numbered one hundred and ninety-three dead and three hundred wounded. The ringleaders of the revolt escaped across the Czechoslovak frontier.

An unfortunate propaganda was immediately launched to show that the outbreak had been directed by the workers against the government. That was not the case. The overwhelming majority of the Austrian working class, even of those belonging to the Socialist Party, were too sensible and clear-sighted to be misled by a dastardly experiment which by any human calculation was foredoomed to failure. The calling by the rebels of a general strike was disregarded; with their sound native sense the vast majority of the Austrian working class refused to make common cause with the leaders of the republican Schutzbund. Among those leaders themselves, too, dissension had for some time been reigning;



unfortunately, the extremists got the upper hand.

The executive—federal army, police, gendarmerie and defence corps—discharged their painful and difficult task, and the country owes them undying thanks. Those in the opposite camp fought, partly from fanaticism, partly in disciplined obedience to the word of command. The victims who fell fighting in good faith for their cause are deserving of honourable remembrance. He who errs in good faith is not to be classed with him who deliberately sets a fire alight and allows others to atone for his own guilt.

Dollfuss did all he could do to convince the supporters of the former Social Democratic Party that he had no intention whatever of worsening the workers' lot in the new state. The new Austria had special need of her workers, and was ready to do everything possible, politically, economically and socially, to prove to the working class that they had everything to gain and nothing to lose by loyal adherence to the national cause. Apart from a few severe measures, unavoidable in the early days after the revolution, the government worked systematically to heal wounds and lost no opportunity of helping to construct a bridge that should lead from negative theorizing to practical co-operation and mutual responsibility. Special importance was attached to establishing and strengthening the trade union organization, though this did not include the former political unions any more than it permitted the re-establishment of parties. The political reconstruction of Austria, which found expression in the new constitution, now almost completed, had as its first aim and essential pre-requisite the prevention of all party formations.

The defenders of the government lie side by side in the principal cemetery of Vienna. Those of us who attended their funeral in that bitter February weather realized to the full that the men to whom the Fatherland was paying its last respects, had saved the country from incalculable consequences. We know to-day what would in all human prob-

ability have occurred if it had not been possible to deal speedily and effectively with the mischief of February 1934. The events that have been taking place in Spain since July 1936 could not have been avoided in Austria. Dollfuss often said that those February days were the most terrible in his life. Nor is the post of Minister of Justice a sinecure at such times. Nevertheless, Austria performed her painful duty, and that not only from her own point of view. The whole German people and its culture were spared grave and irreparable loss. Austria's sacrifices, indeed, give food for thought to all those who realize what it means to sow ruin in the heart of Europe and for whom the maintenance of peace is therefore more than a mere phrase.

Chancellor Dollfuss, who had long been waging war on two fronts, a war which many regarded as lost, missed no chance of contributing to the pacification of the country and to the reinforcement of Austria's cause. He therefore held numerous conversations on all sides and sought to initiate negotiations, though never without first fixing the general lines which, in the interests of his Austrian programme, must in no circumstances be overstepped. By the spring of 1933, when the Nazi movement began to assume more and more extreme forms, Dollfuss was conscientiously striving in the country's interests to steer his opponents along a more peaceful and steady path. With the Chancellor's approval, Rintelen and Buresch endeavoured to come to verbal arrangement with the Nazi leaders. The Chancellor appointed me to represent him at this discussion. The other side was represented by Theo Habicht and Proksch, and the meeting took place in the Blue Room at the Ministry of Education. I have an exact recollection of this talk, which constituted my first and only meeting with Theo Habicht, the well-known member of the German Reichstag and head of the Austrian Nazis. Herr Proksch was a railway official of Sudeten German origin. Habicht declared that the Austrian National Socialist Party were prepared, granted certain conditions, to

THE CHOICE IS MADE

enter into a political coalition with the Christian Socials. A vital obstacle to such a step, however, was constituted by the Heimatschutz, and he insisted upon the latter's exclusion from the government. He proposed that the Heimatschutz should be replaced by Nazis up to a number which I have now forgotten. Three or, at most, four ministerial posts were mentioned. The cabinet would have to hold an early election, the Nazis guaranteeing that, whatever the result, Dollfuss should continue head of the government. That concession National Socialism was ready to make for reasons of foreign policy. The Austrian reply, which I gave in most categorical terms, made it first of all clear that for reasons of loyalty we could not possibly overlook or exclude the Heimatschutz, to which Herr Habicht answered that in the matter of loyalty our other partner did not appear to be equally squeamish. With regard to new elections, detailed reasons were given to support the Austrian viewpoint, which was well known and which the Chancellor had publicly stated on several occasions. The meeting, which had been designed to clear the air, thus broke up without any decisive result, the intention being to meet again later, if necessary, after reporting to the Chancellor. The conversation was never resumed. The same thing happened as so often in later years. As soon as ever there seemed a possibility of easing the situation and settling differences, extreme elements would at the last moment intervene to create an atmosphere calculated to preclude all further negotiation. A particularly glaring example of this procedure occurred at the end of 1933, when Dollfuss declared his readiness to confer with a representative of the Foreign Office in Berlin and to discuss the prospects of a peaceful settlement. The possibility had barely become known when bombs exploded in larger quantities than before along the whole road from Mariazell to Vienna, making any further conversations psychologically impossible, even without the presence on the other side of Herr Habicht, who, after all that had happened, was necessarily regarded

in Austria as a very definite obstacle to a friendly issue.

In the course of these repeated attempts at a rapprochement, which were undoubtedly made in all good faith and the only drawback of which was that they emanated perhaps from too many independent sources, the Chancellor once asked me—late in the evening of October 30, 1933—whether I would leave for Munich within the hour to take part in a political conversation. He had learnt from a private acquaintance that, with the knowledge of the German Chancellor and on the initiative of responsible Nazi circles in Germany, a conversation had been arranged with an authorized representative of the Austrian Chancellor. The chief purpose of this talk was to define the standpoint of the two parties and to prepare the ground for a further conversation to be held between Dollfuss and Hitler in person. I accepted the mission and agreed to leave for Munich, without having communicated my departure to anyone in Vienna and without even telling my wife. The train was due to start in just over an hour and I was already too late to catch it at the Westbahnhof; it had to be stopped at an intermediate station. When I got in, I felt already that, despite all precautions, it was hopeless to expect that this sudden journey would remain a secret.

On the morning of October 31st I was met in Munich, courteously received and, special precautions being taken to avoid attracting attention, was taken to a private house. Thence after some time Herr Himmler, leader of the Black Guards, escorted me to the villa of the Führer's deputy, the Minister Hess, which was on the outskirts of the town. My reception, and the conversation that followed, were all that was most correct. I soon learnt, to my surprise, that the circumstances of the visit were not as I had been told. The Reich Chancellor clearly knew nothing of the meeting and even his deputy expressed surprise at the hour of my arrival. He inquired first whether I was authorized to negotiate. Contrary to our assumption, it then transpired that Herr

Theo Habicht knew of the conversation and that without his co-operation no result was to be expected. I said that I had come, with the Chancellor's knowledge, on a purely personal and strictly confidential visit and that I had no mandate to conduct concrete negotiations. At the same time, I said, my views coincided with those of the Chancellor, who was anxious that the position should be clarified and several possible misunderstandings removed. Austria, I added, was not to be regarded as the petitioning party; an essential condition of success was the recognition of full equality between the two contracting partners. Willing as she was to make advances and to remove misunderstandings, Austria could only consent to negotiate if her honour, her freedom and her independence were respected. These conditions fulfilled, however, Austria, for her part, wished to do all in her power to live on the best terms with the German Reich, in accordance with tradition. Austria had never left it in any doubt that her attitude to the Peace Treaties was the same as Germany's and that she was at all times ready to uphold the interests of the German family.

Minister Hess then developed the German thesis and referred, in particular, to certain matters in Austria which constituted in his opinion an affront to German honour. The chief of these was the veto upon the display of the German flag, the violent tone of the press and the prohibition of the Nazi Party.

As regards the question of the flag, I was able to point out that there was no objection at all to flying the black, white and red flag of the Reich in Austria. At that time the swastika was not the sole national emblem of the Reich, but was flown alongside the black-white-red flag. In regard to the press, I raised the question of reciprocity, with special reference to wireless propaganda. Further, a law was already in force in Austria severely punishing attacks upon and insults to members of foreign governments or the heads of foreign states. With regard to the request for sanction to be

given to the Nazi Party, I pointed out that Austria would find this absolutely impossible, since the intended new constitution and the whole structure of the state excluded all parties whatsoever. The request was one which did not even admit of discussion. On the two other questions I thought that a peaceful settlement was possible and said that I would at any time willingly make representations on these matters to my Chancellor. Co-operation with the Austrian Nazis might, I thought, be realized as soon as they were prepared to join the united Austrian front. That, however, it must be understood, was a purely internal affair.

The conversation lasted about an hour. It was agreed between us that it should be kept strictly secret, and that agreement was faithfully observed by both sides. The subject of the talk has now been long rendered out of date by events, and some hint of our meeting has already appeared in certain publications.

The conversation did not have any immediate effect or success. The published agreements of July 11, 1936, bore witness to the continued wish to settle differences and to create the friendly relations between the two countries which nature had ordained, though both parties laid down the principles within the limits of which any negotiation must take place.

I returned to Vienna by air early that same afternoon. It so happened that that evening was the première at the Burgtheater of Grillparzer's "König Ottokar's Glück und sein Ende". I was thus able to satisfy a long-cherished wish to hear this hymn of praise to the Austrian Fatherland, composed by one of the greatest masters of the German language.

For the time being, unhappily, all efforts to end the strife were unavailing. I can personally testify that Dollfuss was always ready to come to any arrangement that did not conflict with Austria's basic principles.

In the spring of 1934 the new Austrian constitution was solemnly proclaimed at an enormous youth demonstration

held at the Vienna stadium, along with a symbolically organized procession of the new corporations. Part of the constitution came into immediate force, the rest remained temporarily postponed, transitional measures being taken to cover the interim period. The constitution itself was in the main the work of the former Federal Chancellor, Dr. Ender, and had received the unanimous assent of the cabinet, parliament and the whole of Austrian public opinion included within the ranks of the Patriotic Front. A period of transition was unavoidable, because the professional corporations could not be created in a day, while many of the new provisions needed testing by the experience of everyday life.

After the foundations of the new state had thus been laid, the next most urgent task was that of economic progress. Successive missions took the Chancellor to Rome and Budapest. The Rome Protocols, blessed by the Italian duce, Benito Mussolini, secured for Austria an economic anchorage as well as a reinforcement of her international standing. Mussolini not only fully appreciated the needs of our country, but also manifested a personal liking and sympathy for Engelbert Dollfuss. The Chancellor was about to leave once more for Italy, when the events of July 25th called an abrupt halt to all these plans. I have no wish to reopen old wounds, and the events themselves are too fresh in our minds to need retelling or explaining. None of the many to whom fate had decreed a personal share in it, will ever forget that day. All my life I shall remember how the first news of the raid on the Chancellery reached me at the Ministry of Education hard by, nor shall I forget any detail of what followed. We were completely paralysed with horror, when, long after five in the afternoon, there was brought to the Ministry on the Stubenring, where the members of the Cabinet had gathered, the first official report that Dollfuss was dead. The effect of this news can only be fully understood by those familiar with Dollfuss's life

and work, by those who could see the necessary implications and the abyss which threatened to swallow up Austria once again. 1918! 1934! It seemed as if we Austrians were fated to lose our Fatherland a second time. But not if any effort of ours could save it.

The official account published by the Federal Press department a few months afterwards gives in detail the true story of what happened, but a certain amount of legend has sprung up around the dreadful truth. Engelbert Dollfuss was struck down in the midst of his work; a pattern of German manhood, a pious Catholic, the hero and martyr of his Austrian Fatherland. Even in face of death he did not dream of yielding to political blackmail, though he must surely have trembled for the results of his life's work. As proof of his courage, I here give verbatim the statements taken on July 31st and August 4th from the two police officers who attended the dying Chancellor through the last hours of his life. As far as I know, these statements have never before been published in full.

Chief Superintendent Johann Greifender, interrogated on July 31, 1934, made the following statement:

"I had received orders to stand by, and at 10 a.m. took up my post near to the accounts department, on the fourth floor of the Federal Chancellery, No. 2 Ballhausplatz, where I was to be on duty until one o'clock. A little before one I heard a noise on the stairs and, opening the door giving on to the staircase, I was confronted by five or six men in uniform, who told me to put up my hands. Looking down to the third floor, I saw two more uniformed men levelling their pistols at my colleague Messinger and disarming him. It occurred to me that I must be among the last to be disarmed; I could not therefore resist. I was taken down to the third floor, where I had to wait on the landing in the company of eight or nine 'soldiers' with pointed pistols. Meanwhile, other soldiers had fetched the officials from the rooms on the fourth floor and brought them downstairs,

their hands held above their heads. They had to stand there till all were assembled. I pointed out that it was wrong to keep so many people crowded together on the stairs. Whereupon one of the men said: 'You keep your mouth shut, we're in command here.' An 'officer' then came and ordered a general move to the courtyard. The civilians were now separated off, while we were left in the first courtyard close to the main door. I calculate that it took ten to twelve minutes to clear the whole Chancellery.

"Between one-thirty and one-forty-five a rebel came up to us in the yard and asked my colleague, District Inspector Jellinek, whether we were aware that the Chancellor had been wounded. When we replied in the negative, he asked if we would like to see him, and we, of course, said we would. He then took Jellinek and myself upstairs, where we found the Chancellor in what is known as the Corner Room, lying on the floor in the window nearest the Conference Room. He was lying on his back with his hands stretched out. My colleague and I at once said that a doctor must be sent for, and we were directed to the 'Major', who was in the yard outside. We went up to him and asked for the services of a doctor, but he refused, saying that no one was to leave the building. Jellinek then went into the back yard and asked whether there was no doctor among the interned occupants of the building. Finding that there was not, he asked for bandages. While he was still in the back yard, a rebel entered the front courtyard with bandaging material and asked if anyone had any first-aid knowledge. My colleague Messinger and myself volunteered to help and were escorted upstairs, where we found the Chancellor still in the position in which we had left him. He was unconscious. One of the rebels cut open his coat and shirt, handed us the bandages and went away. There were still a few Putschists in the room, and one sat at a desk smoking a cigarette. I held the wounded Chancellor's head and raised him, while Messinger applied

the bandage. I then told Messinger that we must get the Chancellor on to some kind of bed, so we dragged up a red sofa and laid him on it. A few of the Putschists helped us. We then washed the Chancellor and bathed his forehead with eau-de-Cologne. One Putschist clumsily sprinkled lysoform over his face, which we wiped away with cotton wool. The Chancellor then regained consciousness. His first question was: 'What has happened to the other ministers?' to which I answered: 'As far as I know, they are safe.' The Chancellor then told us that a major, a captain and a number of soldiers had come in and shot at him. He then inquired whether he could not speak with a minister, and asked in the first place for Dr. Schuschnigg. One of the rebels directed us, on inquiry, to the Major. One of them, the Captain I think it was, went out and fetched the Major, who came and said: 'You have sent for me, Chancellor. What do you want? If you had not resisted, you would have been all right,' to which the Chancellor answered: 'I had to, I too was a soldier.' The Chancellor repeated his wish to speak with Dr. Schuschnigg, but the Major said: 'Schuschnigg is not here.' The Chancellor then asked for Karwinsky, but the Major made no reply. He then got up and, after some time, returned with Minister Fey. Meanwhile the Chancellor asked if he could be taken to a sanatorium or have a doctor, and also asked for a priest. We appealed in vain to the same effect and I tried to comfort the Chancellor by telling him that the wound was only a flesh wound and needed no doctor. The Chancellor, however, seemed to realize the gravity of his injuries, for he asked us to lift his arms and feet and, when we did so, said: 'I can feel nothing. I'm paralysed.' He then added: 'How good you fellows are to me. Why weren't the others, too? All I wanted was peace. It was we who were attacked; we had to defend ourselves. May God forgive the others.' Minister Fey then arrived under escort and, sitting on the arm of the sofa, I heard all that was

said. I also renewed the compresses. The Chancellor greeted Fey affectionately and asked how he was, to which Fey replied: 'As you see, quite all right.' The Chancellor next asked after the other members of the cabinet, and was told that they too were safe and sound. He then asked Fey to request Mussolini, the Italian Premier, to take charge of his wife and children. Fey promised. The Chancellor then said that he wished Dr. Schuschnigg to take over the government, or, in the event of his death, Skubl, Vice-President of Police. At this point one of the rebels came up and, leaning across the Major, said: 'Chancellor, come to business, we're not interested in that. Give orders to the authorities to refrain from taking any action against the Federal Chancellery until Rintelen has taken over the government.' The Chancellor then expressed the hope that all unnecessary bloodshed would be avoided. Lastly, he said to Fey: 'Take care of my wife and children.' The Putschists then pulled Minister Fey away and took him out on to the balcony. What happened there, I do not know. The Chancellor again complained at being allowed no doctor, fearing that his phlegm was choking him. It was not, however, phlegm that caused this choking feeling, but blood, which we had constantly to wipe away from his mouth. The death-rattle now became more and more audible, and the Chancellor gradually lapsed into unconsciousness. His last words were: 'Give my love to my wife and children.' Then, after a few gasps, one or two convulsive twitches, his eyes now glassy, he breathed his last. That was at about a quarter to four in the afternoon. The death agony lasted at most five minutes."

Questioned further on August 4, 1934, Police Superintendent Johann Greifender added the following statement:

"Supplementing my signed statement of July 31, 1934, I have only the following remarks to make: The Chancellor definitely did not give his consent to the formation of a government by Rintelen.

"When the rebel Major first spoke alone with the Federal Chancellor, I heard nothing of any proposal for the nomination of Rintelen; with regard to the later conversation in Minister Fey's presence, it was not the Major, but, as previously stated, another rebel who came up and suggested that the Chancellor should entrust Minister Rintelen with the formation of a government and give orders to the executive authorities to take no action against the Chancellery. In reply to this, the Chancellor thought for a few seconds and then answered that no unnecessary blood should be shed. He said nothing about Rintelen. I remember, on the other hand, quite distinctly that, as I mentioned in my first statement, the Chancellor told Minister Fey that the Minister Schuschnigg should undertake to form a government or, if he were no longer alive, Vice-President of Police Skubl.

"In conclusion, I declare that during the critical period I never left the room and therefore did not miss anything essential that was said. The Chancellor spoke, it is true, in a weak voice, but perfectly audibly, and I never moved farther than from the sofa to the desk, when renewing the compresses. That distance was about three steps."

Questioned on July 31, 1934, Police Superintendent Rudolf Messinger made this statement:

" . . . At about one-forty-five a number of rebels came and asked whether anyone knew how to tie a bandage. We (Greifender and I) volunteered our services and were escorted by some of the rebels to the first floor. I did not at that time know who had been wounded. When we arrived upstairs, I saw the Chancellor lying on his back unconscious, his arms extended, on the floor of the Corner Room, in the window nearest the entrance to the Conference Room. The right sleeve of his coat was cut open. We asked for bandages. One of the rebels produced a black box containing first-aid material, while another cut away the Chancellor's outer garments with scissors. . . . The Chancellor opened his

eyes and asked if he could speak with one of his ministers. There were from ten to fifteen rebels in the room, among them the Captain. The latter must have sent for the Major, who, as soon as he came in, said: 'You have sent for me, Chancellor. What do you want?' The Chancellor: 'May I speak with one of my ministers? How are they all?' The Major: 'They are all safe and sound.' Chancellor: 'Tell Mussolini to look after my wife and children.' Major: 'Give orders, Chancellor, that Minister Rintelen shall form a government and that the executive authorities take no hostile action against the Chancellery.' Shortly after that the Major departed and Minister Fey was brought in by several rebels at the point of the revolver. The Chancellor was at the moment fully conscious and said: 'How are you, Fey, and what about the others?' Fey: 'Thanks, I'm all right, as you see, and so are the others.' Chancellor: 'Please ask Mussolini to look after my wife and children.' This conversation was not apparently to the liking of the rebels, one of whom came up brandishing a revolver, while another, holding a watch in his hand, said: 'Come to business. We are not interested in that. Tell Minister Fey that Rintelen is to be entrusted with the formation of a government and that the executive authorities are to take no hostile measures against the Chancellery.' To this the Chancellor replied: 'The formation of a government is to be entrusted to Minister Schuschnigg or, if he is no longer alive, to Vice-President of Police Skubl.' One of the rebels then said that the quarter of an hour was up, and Minister Fey was taken away. Where to, I do not know. As Minister Fey was leaving, the Chancellor said once more: 'Please see to my wife and children.'

"The rebels tried to get in touch with the wireless station through a set which stood on the table and also tried to mend the telephone in the room where the Chancellor lay. After Minister Fey had gone, the Chancellor complained of thirst. We moistened his lips with cotton wool dipped in water. He said: 'How good you fellows are to me. Why are the

others different? All I wanted was peace. We were never the aggressors; we had always to defend ourselves. May God forgive them.'

"Later, the rebels returned with Minister Fey, who was made to speak through the telephone—presumably by then repaired—which stood on the desk in the room where the Chancellor was lying. I do not know whom Minister Fey spoke to or what he said. He seemed to be reading into the telephone from a piece of paper. Thence he was apparently taken out on to the balcony to make a speech. We ourselves paid no great attention to these matters, being busy tending the Chancellor's wounds. . . ."

Further interrogated on August 4, 1934, Police Superintendent Rudolf Messinger added the following:

"Supplementing my signed statement of July 31, 1934, I have only the following to add:

"When the rebel Major spoke with the Chancellor, before Minister Fey's arrival, and requested him to entrust Rintelen with the formation of the government and to give orders to the executive to take no hostile action against the Chancellery, the Chancellor, to the best of my recollection, said something about Minister Schuschnigg and also that no unnecessary blood was to be shed. I do not remember his saying anything about Dr. Rintelen. I should point out that I was mainly concerned in attending to the Chancellor's wounds and could not give full attention to every word that was spoken. Later, when Minister Fey was brought in, the conversation proceeded as I described it in my statement of July 31st. I remember quite definitely that Chancellor Dollfuss named the Minister Schuschnigg and, in his place, Vice-President of Police Skubl, as the men to be entrusted with the formation of the government. The Chancellor made no mention of Rintelen in my presence. I was present in the room throughout the conversation and did not leave the Chancellor's side until he was dead. I did, it is true, now and again move across from the sofa to the

MAJOR EMIL FEY



E.N.A.



PRINCE STARHEMBE

desk to dip the compresses in a jug of water that lay there. I can, however, state positively that the Chancellor never said either to the Major or to Minister Fey that the government was to be entrusted to Dr. Rintelen.

"I would add that, during the first conversation between the rebel Major and the Chancellor, the latter asked the former what he had to propose, whereupon the Major made the suggestion about Rintelen already referred to. To this, however, as also mentioned, the Chancellor replied with a reference to Minister Schuschnigg. . . ."

A little later the big memorial gathering organized by the Patriotic Front was held in Vienna. Packed close together, a dense throng of hundreds of thousands filled the Heldenplatz and all the streets leading to it.

I give the following passages from a speech I made at Mariazell on August 2, 1934:

"It has been established that the Austrian Chancellor, Dr. Engelbert Dollfuss, was shot down from a distance of ten to fifteen centimetres and that there was no need whatever for this assassination, because the rebel intruders must have seen that the door by which Dr. Dollfuss tried at the last moment to escape was bolted and that the Chancellor could easily have been taken prisoner.

"This act was intentional, prearranged and deliberate.

"There is no doubt in my mind that the murder of the Chancellor was intended, prearranged and deliberate. It has been further established that the dying Chancellor was refused the services of a doctor and a priest, and that there were no grounds at all for such refusal, since both could quite easily have been fetched. In a few places, events in Vienna led to local disturbances which the authorities crushed. The situation in Austria took a turn in the next three days which encouraged various local outbreaks, especially in Carinthia and Styria, and here and there in Upper Austria, some of which could only be suppressed by the employment of strong forces. It transpired that the

rebels were very imperfectly informed by their leaders about the real facts and the situation in Austria, and may for a long time have thought that the Vienna coup had succeeded.

"The overwhelming majority of the Austrian people, however, were true to Chancellor Dollfuss.

"I would mention in this connection that this exceedingly cleverly-thought-out *putsch* rallied to the rebels' side only an insignificant part of the population, while the overwhelming majority of the Austrian people followed the coffin of their lamented Chancellor and leader, Dr. Dollfuss."

To that I have now nothing to add.

Emotional tension among the population was indescribable. That same evening of July 25th a report was circulated that the Putschists were, in accordance with their original demand, to be conveyed in lorries by night, under military escort, across the German frontier. It was reported to me at the time that, should this plan be given effect, no guarantee would be given of its successful execution. The peasants, I was informed, had been warned all the way through Lower Austria, and in view of the passionate feeling aroused, especially among the Chancellor's own people, it was impossible that a single member of the party should come through alive. That applied, I was told, not only to the rebels, but to their escort.

As we know, this question of transport to the German frontier never arose, because the written promise of a free escort only held good provided that no loss of life was incurred at the Chancellery.

The general mourning for Dollfuss found its most elegant expression in the last funeral procession through the streets of Vienna. On this occasion, too, the grief of the dense throng was very naturally mixed with violent indignation. Cries of "Avenge the murdered Chancellor" were heard more than once as the *cortège* passed along the Ringstrasse. On the Rathaus Square, Prince Starhemberg addressed a moving funeral oration to the murdered Chancellor, con-

THE CHOICE IS MADE

cluding with a profession of the patriotic faith which united us all in that hour. I took my personal leave of our dead leader at the graveside at Hietzing. There for the first time was coined the political watchword of the years to come, a watchword often to be repeated and now more than ever valid: "Onward—Austria!"

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

LIQUIDATION. ENDS AND MEANS

CALLED upon by the Federal President, on July 25, 1934—the blackest day in the history of modern Austria—to assume provisional leadership of the government, I had in the days that followed to take most momentous decisions. It was without relish and only after much hesitation that I accepted the office, partly to reward the trust placed in me by the head of the state, but partly also under pressure from responsible political and economic quarters.

Engelbert Dollfuss had quite early in his regime told me more than once that he regarded me as his successor and had reverted to the subject not long before his death, intimating his intention of resigning the chancellorship as soon as his work was completed and the new constitution safe on the statute-book. He would then, he said, look to serve the country in some other capacity. More than once the prospect of being destined to take Dollfuss's place appalled me, with my long and close personal experience of what he had achieved, and of what was required of the holder of his office. I had long realized that the discharge of such duties meant sacrificing much, if not all. In these more personal aspects, too, we both felt alike. For Dollfuss, the limelight and the trappings of office were, at the best, necessary evils. They made no appeal to his unaffected nature and he avoided them whenever possible. I never could understand those unquiet spirits for whom the world is peopled exclusively

with wire-pullers and conspirators, who thrive on constant agitation, who no more understand the desire of those in power to work in harmony and agreement than they can appreciate the voluntary subordination of one man to another. To minds like theirs the making and unmaking of ministers has become a mental pastime, the solution, as it were, of a political crossword puzzle. I remember several talks on this topic. Dollfuss had hardly taken office, when I learnt to my astonishment that, according to so-and-so, I was scheming to displace the Chancellor. At first I was extremely angry at such gossip, but, as time went on, became used to it, and soon found that hardly any prominent political figure is immune from such rumours. When stories of this kind were circulated about Dollfuss and myself, I always passed them on to him and we would laugh together over them. Now that I look back, there is unfortunately no doubt in my mind that mischief-makers were at work long before July 25, 1934. For instance, I had an odd conversation, two months before the July catastrophe, with a very well-known Austrian politician employed abroad, on the occasion of the opening of the Austrian pavilion at the biennial exhibition of international art in Venice. The other party to this talk was of opinion that Austria was inevitably heading for economic collapse, and he pointed, by way of argument, to the crisis in the Styrian apple market, which was just then causing us special anxiety. I should do well, he said, to take example by others and look betimes for permanent employment outside politics.

At about the same time I was approached in Vienna by the same man and asked whether, if I were called upon to form a government, I would be willing to collaborate with himself. He was quite ready, he said, to serve under me in the same cabinet. I did not at the time pay very serious attention to such conversations, and felt sure that I was being cautiously sounded, my interlocutor having obviously reversed our rôles in order to see whether he could

count on me in case of need. I never left it in any doubt at all that for me Engelbert Dollfuss was the only Chancellor, and that service to him through thick and thin was the fixed resolve of myself and my friends. It was, of course, rather disagreeable to lay oneself open to a suspicion of *naïveté*, for which there was in my own opinion no ground at all.

When the President's invitation to me to form a new government reached me in the afternoon of July 25th, while the day's grievous happenings still overwhelmed me, I first asked for a respite. The former government was to remain in office until after Dollfuss's funeral. The Vice-Chancellor, Prince Starhemberg, was abroad at the moment of the outbreak, and, on receipt of the news, had immediately flown back to Austria. If only in fairness to him, who was the Chancellor's deputy in the government and in the Patriotic Front, I was in favour of delay and made a proposal to that effect to the Federal President.

I discussed matters with Starhemberg in the friendliest spirit. He was being persistently urged by his friends to offer himself as candidate for the chancellorship and, in face of the high feeling that naturally ran among his followers, his position was not easy. With remarkable delicacy and self-effacement he was ready to take full account of political necessities, as put to him by various leading personalities and as reflected in the views of the Federal President. We very quickly agreed upon the choice of our colleagues, and both held it to be our duty to continue Dollfuss's work in his spirit and along the same lines.

In order to promote unity and command the close adherence of all Dollfuss's followers, to spare sensibilities and to avoid from the outset any suspicion of a difference of view between Dollfuss's successors, we agreed that Starhemberg should take command of the Patriotic Front, with myself as his deputy, while I became head of the government, with Starhemberg as Vice-Chancellor.

This was my own proposal, and the division of power and its underlying concept were not therefore the result of any representations made to me. The solution was a perfectly natural one and even within the Patriotic Front was appreciated and welcomed by all. Dollfuss had himself nominated Starhemberg deputy leader of the Front and, after the death of the first federal leader and founder of the Front, the reasons for doing so became all the more compelling. It was important to prevent the red-white-red front from being supplanted by a green-white front, since that would have led ultimately to a revival of the party spirit it had proved so hard to destroy, and would further have meant a government of coalition instead of concentration. The Heimatschutz had in time of trouble rallied to its green and white flag and, in the hour of crisis, had paid for its allegiance to an independent Austria by cleavage within its ranks. It regarded itself as a pioneer of the new course; for a long while it had proclaimed as its goal the acquisition of all power in the state; it had lost heavily in the fighting of 1934 and was now afraid of being pushed into the background. Such a feeling was bound to engender bitterness and fresh material for a propaganda campaign which would charge the Fatherland with ingratitude. All of which might only too easily supply fresh food for extremists and add internal strife to the already existing difficulties.

I held with Prince Starhemberg that it was imperative to circumvent this danger. We both felt strongly that party spirit and the party state could only be countered by the closest possible union of forces and the avoidance of all unnecessary friction. It was also evident to us both that there would be blunders and mistakes made on either side and that the process of mutual adaptation of elements originating in different political camps must require a considerable time. We were clear that our first and most important political task was carefully but effectively to bring all the political forces of the "Independent Austria" movement within the

single organization of the Patriotic Front, and we agreed to devote all our resources to that great end as a memorial to Dollfuss.

At the same time, steps had to be taken to unify the various voluntary defence corps. It was first arranged that Prince Starhemberg should take over the command of a joint and united defensive front, in which all units should be incorporated, though they were to retain each its separate organization.

Accordingly, the aim we set ourselves to pursue undeviatingly was the steady and consistent continuation of Dollfuss's policy: namely, to preserve the independence of a free Austrian Fatherland, to complete the corporative structure of the state and to carry the constitution into effect. The pursuit of this aim imposed certain preliminary conditions, which necessitated in many matters development by stages. In the first place, the participating political forces, especially the defence corps, would no doubt have to make sacrifices which could not be forgotten or ignored. Objective needs would certainly have to take precedence of questions of personal prestige, and no doubt individuals would have to renounce ideas and conceptions dear to their political hearts. To secure future development, the end and the means had to be delimited in four directions:

1. The position of Austria in relation to her neighbours and the outside world had to be made perfectly clear. This was a task for foreign policy.

2. The consolidation and extension of the political Front in Austria, for vital points were still undecided when Dollfuss was suddenly cut off in the midst of his task. It was impossible to leave things at the stage they had reached without endangering the whole work. This meant sweeping away the last traces of the coalition system with its material and personal shortcomings; settling periodical attempts to assert their superiority by the different units and groups within the Patriotic camp—even in Dollfuss's time

these rivalries had from time to time caused grave anxiety—and a careful attunement of political watchwords so as to avoid any misconception or ambiguity. It further included the systematic combating of all subversive propaganda, abolition of the emergency measures which had followed the revolts of 1934, and honest, painstaking endeavour gradually to discharge the atmosphere of its tension and restore internal peace throughout the country. This task involved before all else capturing the imagination of youth, both in the schools and outside, so as to teach them what Austria and the Fatherland meant, to imbue them with its ideals and to awaken them to the fact that the "Austrian" ideal and true patriotism were compatible things, and that German boys and girls in Austria could best serve the racial cause by professing themselves proud and free Austrians. This meant making good the inevitable omissions of the past fifteen years resulting from the distribution of political power during that period and the aims set by its political leaders. Such were the tasks facing the leaders of state and Front in the sphere of internal politics. Their satisfactory accomplishment was essential if Dollfuss's life-work was not in the end to be wasted.

3. In order that this programme of foreign and domestic policy might be carried out safely and successfully, a third factor was essential, namely, a complete reorientation of Austria's military policy. This meant a larger army and the unification of the armed voluntary formations, all of which had to be withdrawn from the political field and made available for national defence in the strictest sense of the term.

4. A last essential pre-requisite consisted in dealing successfully with the economic crisis and thus securing the national existence. For this reason the campaign against unemployment and the revival and strengthening of trust in the Fatherland and its resources continued to occupy first place in the government programme. The problem here

involved is more important than the national question, which in contemporary Austria is not really a question at all, but is continually being artificially thrust into the forefront of the political arena, although where there are no aggressors, doubters or gainsayers, there is no danger and no ground for defensive action. Those who are genuine in their enthusiasm for the national cause in Austria, and who cannot respond to trumpet notes whose patriotic flourishes only repeat those of 1848, 1870, 1900 or 1914, should concern themselves rather with that other really unsolved problem—the social question in Austria.

Whereas the fall of the old Austrian Empire solved the national question by unification, the social question became—by the collapse of the Monarchy and the course of events throughout the first fifteen years after the War—more acute than ever. Here is a Herculean task for anyone who feels responsible for helping to shape the destiny of our German family in Austria and improving their living conditions. The impoverished proletarianized middle-class, the large body of the *petite bourgeoisie* in the towns, both manual workers and clerical workers, the miner in the west struggling day by day to earn the minimum he needs to support life, the army of workers in industry and trade—in a word, all classes of our people depend upon success of economic reconstruction, and all suffer from its postponement or failure. Let that be borne in mind by our unemployed leaders, who, whatever their shade of opinion, believe in purely political solutions. Those who have made a gospel of Austria's inability to survive, are welcome to their belief. But they should remember that it is an act of irresponsibility to set about creating fresh havoc at a time like this, simply in order to procure evidence that would not be forthcoming but for artificially engineered trouble, whether in the form of sabotage or merely of alarmist reports and fabricated stories spread either wittingly or unwittingly.

The social question in general and the labour question

in particular are not political problems in Austria to-day. They are primarily economic problems.

It follows that economic success is the real guarantee of a permanent consolidation of present-day Austria.

Austria's foreign policy is determined by the general potentialities of a small state and by the special geo-political and cultural conditions of our country, which prescribe for us a course laid down by history. The small state, as such, may choose between three ways of maintaining itself:

1. Strict neutrality fixed by international law and applying in the event of all future national complications. The existence of such neutrality, when it comes to the point, depends upon the general validity of relations and obligations entered into under international law. It will be the safer according as the country is resolved to defend itself and as the power of defence makes any breach of its neutrality on grounds of necessity, a risk not lightly to be incurred.

2. Union with a combination of states and inclusion within a more or less close alliance, which may vary from a pact of non-aggression to an agreement to render mutual assistance.

3. The avoidance of any one-sided undertaking, and the conclusion, not of an alliance, but of treaties of friendship, taking advantage of every possibility of international co-operation on a broad basis, and of rendering mediatory service. This method corresponds to the political attitude which we in Austria used to call the policy of the open window.

If we chose this third way, we did so mainly because it offers us the best guarantee for the peaceful accomplishment of those tasks the fulfilment of which is assigned to us by Austria's destiny and purpose.

We regard ourselves, now as always, called upon to build a bridge and to act as intermediaries between the peoples and states which once belonged to the Austrian Empire and which now lead an independent national life of their own.

This mediatory function lies in the economic and cultural fields, and differs from former days in having no concern at all with power politics. It is our further and not less important mission to maintain our position in the great German cultural group and, by means of our free and independent German state, playing the minor rôle which history has allotted to it, to serve the whole race to which we belong and to which we profess loyalty, and the cause of its intellectual and economic progress and position in the world. To impede or to prevent the discharge of that mission would be a policy of short-sightedness, which, profiting no one, would in the long run hamper neighbourly relations within the ambit of Central Europe and thus be of no benefit to our national cause. I do not believe in the permanent victory of revolutionary processes and in settlements by violence in international relations. The stronger party may, with luck, alter the map, but history teaches us that a change of this sort, though it may postpone the issues, can hardly ever solve them. I do, however, believe in historical evolution, which builds up and moulds the new and the expedient, without destroying what is of value in old institutions. I have accordingly never held our political mission to lie in a final choice between the so-called opposites, Central Europe and Germany, i.e. between the Danubian Union and the "Anschluss", but rather in reconciling these contradictory elements. That will become possible as soon as no country in Central Europe feels threatened by Germany and Germany feels threatened by no union of those countries, as soon, that is, as there has been created a Central European organization to include Germany. This peaceful road leading to the new Central European conception is unthinkable without our free and independent Austria. Strong in this belief, responsible Austrian policy can never in any circumstances abandon the German course which it is now following and which, under whatever difficult conditions, it has always followed. Nor can Austria ever cease

to seek a friendly settlement of affairs with neighbours who share with her a common past, even if she should encounter suspicion or misconstruction, just as on the other hand she will never fail to stress her German mission and her racial links with Germany.

Austria has acknowledged in her constitution that she is a German state.

That state would have no meaning if it did not intend its desire for freedom and independence to be taken literally. If, however, it should become a reality, then, despite the reverses of history, a straight line would lead from the first to the third Austria, and it would rest with us to prove that, under wholly different circumstances and on another political plane, a small country can gain in peace what an erstwhile Great Power failed to achieve in war. All this may appear Utopian in view of the world situation and the level of the political barometer in Central Europe to-day. Undoubtedly, strong "either-or" solutions are more in evidence to-day and seem more likely to be realized than patient schemes founded on compromise.

Nevertheless, strength and patience should never be regarded as contradictory ideas, any more than a policy of wait-and-see and compromise should be confused with one of surrender and compliance.

How much that we thought Utopian a generation ago has now become fact, though that is not in all cases a matter for rejoicing. Certain it is, however, that history, in leading Austria from the realm of the improbable to the land of certainty, has been a hard taskmaster. Thus we know well enough, for good and for ill, how transient is all contemporary history, however firmly convinced of its own immutable finality.

During the first few weeks of my chancellorship I paid a series of official visits to a number of countries with which Austria was on terms of friendship. That our friendly relations with Hungary were a matter of course no one need

be told who bears in mind the centuries-old historical ties uniting Austria and Hungary; both countries can look back on a common path, not without recollecting this or that milestone of common blunders, of common mistakes. Engelbert Dollfuss, in collaboration with the Hungarian Government, had steered the close economic relations of the two states into new and promising channels, and had succeeded in overcoming a certain timidity which, owing to the revision of the frontiers after the revolution and the consequent implicit mistrust that everywhere prevailed, had stood in the way of closer neighbourly relations. It is hardly an overstatement to say that the Austrians and Hungarians understand each other far better to-day than ever they did in the time of the Dual Monarchy.

Julius von Gömbös, since deceased, was at that time Prime Minister of Hungary. He was on terms of personal friendship with Dollfuss, and I myself had met him repeatedly in the course of official negotiations in Budapest, Vienna and Rome, and had come to know and esteem him as an indefatigable and sincere patriot, a friend of our country and a reliable co-worker. Julius Gömbös never turned his back on his army career; it was second nature to him to think as a soldier; and it is first and foremost in the military sphere that common memories and a common fate provide a lasting and indestructible bridge on which Austrian and Hungarian can always meet. At this time, too, the cultural agreement between the two countries, for the carrying through of which the Hungarian Minister of Education, Bálint Homan, deserves particular credit, was beginning to bear better and better fruit.

In the course of my visit to Budapest in 1934, I called to mind another visit, which I had been privileged to pay some years back, to Count Albert Apponyi, the Nestor of Hungarian politicians (now also deceased), at his residence not far from Government Headquarters. Even by us in Austria, Count Apponyi was looked upon as a typical Magyar mag-

nate; the international world was wont to consider this old nobleman with the sharp features even in his old age as the most representative figure of the Hungarian nation. A man with a rich and varied experience of life and an equally rich and varied acquaintance with the political scene, a man of astounding knowledge, culture, and a perfect command of many languages, he had mounted the rostrum in most of the capitals of Europe, including, not least, the League of Nations metropolis, Geneva, to speak on the problems besetting the world; the organization of world peace was a cause that he had particularly at heart. Count Apponyi was a Catholic, a democrat and a Legitimist. The conversation I was privileged to have with him in the year 1930 was opened by him with a reference to the necessity for closer collaboration between our two countries. He staked everything on the League of Nations and in this respect held the same viewpoint as Seipel, our former Chancellor; as a Hungarian with a profound feeling for tradition he held parliament and parliamentary institutions in high esteem; as for all the talk of the crisis of democracy, which at that time was very much in the air all over Austria, he would have none of it; he desired to see the retention of the old, traditional democratic forms of government, though, of course, from the Hungarian point of view. He seemed to relive his past as a member of the opposition in the days of the old Monarchy as he declared: "Believe me, safety-valves must be provided, or there are bound to be eruptions. . . . Of course there must be some inviolable authority, a symbol, that stands above the age; that is the meaning of the holy crown of St. Stephen" On his table stood a large photograph of the heir to the throne. "If I am a Legitimist," was the sense of his next words, "it is from emotional considerations, and not because my nation has much to thank the dynasty for. It is, rather, because for us an historical symbol is a vital necessity"

I had the impression on that occasion that the revolu-

tion and the ensuing course of events had in many respects brought to the fore very similar problems in Austria and Hungary—the problem, for example, of the conflict between the generations, the divergence between the ideas of the old and the young, who are sometimes unable to find a common basis of agreement.

It was in August, 1934, too, that I had my first personal encounter with the head of the Italian Government, Benito Mussolini. This first meeting in Florence was followed up in the course of the next few years by further visits to Rome, Forlì and Venice. What manner of man Mussolini is and what is his significance for his country, anyone can judge who goes to Italy with an unprejudiced mind and who knew pre-Fascist Italy. Italian Fascism is primarily concerned, not with the rich, the well-fed, the well-to-do and the successful: its aim is, rather, to bring within its orbit the vast majority of “small men”, the poorer peasants, the young; and that, to all appearances, it has succeeded in doing to a very creditable extent. Resolute energy, iron will-power, clarity of political aims and logicity of thought, passionate national patriotism and a genius for statesmanship—the enumeration of these qualities does not provide a true picture of Mussolini. Nor will anyone, I think, who has only seen him on the rostrum, carried along and fired by the vociferous enthusiasm of his audience, or who has met him only at a state reception, in evening dress and wearing his orders, be able to gain a true idea of his personality. It is only in personal contact and in discussion of practical matters that one obtains a correct impression of the Duce. Not that the gaze of the eyes is different; but they speak perhaps in a different tone and make one aware that not only harshness, but also goodness, a profound humanity and considerable culture dwell side by side in this characteristically Latin head. Two remarks made by the Duce in the course of our conversations seem to me to be typical of the man: “The hardest and most essential thing is to be so strong that one

is able to remain good," and "Force? Yes. But force is not a school kept by us, not a system introduced by us, not, what would be worst of all, a doctrine of æsthetics taught by us. The employment of force is disinterested, chivalrous and, in the surgical sense, wholesome." For us Austrians the statement of Mussolini's views which appeared on February 13, 1935, in the *Popolo d'Italia* under the title "La missione storica dell'Austria", is of particular importance (*Scritti e discorsi di Benito Mussolini*, Volume IX). Mussolini's article concluded with the following sentence: "I think that with the passage of years, with the strengthening of the state, the recovery of its economy, everyone will be convinced that Austria can live; a second German state, therefore, can live in Europe, German, but master of its own fate." ("*può cioè esistere un secondo stato tedesco in Europa, tedesco, ma padrone del suo destino*").

The Rome Protocols, to which Austria, Italy and Hungary were parties, have been extended in the course of the years. The needs of our country have always met with generous understanding; this is true no less of cultural matters than of economic difficulties. I was invariably struck by the Italians' keen zest for knowledge and interest in anything to do with the press. For the rest I have long been impressed with the express emphasis laid in Fascist Italy on the complex of problems centring round national education and the education and winning over of the young.

In all the talks and public announcements in connection with the Rome Protocols one note was constantly struck: the will to collaboration, to the exclusion of any attempt at the formation of a bloc directed against a third party; stress being laid from the outset on the principle that no obstacle should be put in the way of the eventual extension of the agreements to other states. In particular, the Rome Protocols (to quote the text of the communiqué issued on August 22, 1934, on the conclusion of the consultations in Florence) led to "complete agreement as regards the policy and methods to

be employed for the preservation of the independence and integrity of Austria." "This independence and integrity," the communiqué continued, "which comprises, furthermore, complete internal autonomy, constitute, in point of fact, a European interest and form a basis for the preservation of peace in the Danube basin." Those words sum up the political importance of the Protocols for Austria. And in this respect there has been no change up to the present moment. Mussolini declared in the year 1922 that treaties were but a chapter in the book of history, and never the last word. There remains only to add to this perfectly correct interpretation that the logical arrangement of the chapters leads of itself to the deductions which will safeguard against future misinterpretations and surprises, those who know how to scan the pages of the book of history. The path for friendly relations and close co-operation with Germany in particular was from the outset—and had been even in Dollfuss's time—left open by the aforementioned basic principles of the agreement.

One thing remains to be expressly mentioned in this connection. Neither in the year 1934 nor later did Italy so much as attempt to interfere in the internal political affairs of Austria. There has never been the slightest question but that Italy has scrupulously respected the complete internal independence and freedom of Austria. There is no foundation whatever for the charges and suggestions that have from time to time been made on this score.

While we are on the subject of the attitude of Rome to the internal affairs of our country, reference should also be made to the Vatican, to which we naturally paid quite separate visits during every stay in the Italian capital. The conclusion of the Concordat in the year 1933 had brought me into personal contact with Vatican circles. My conversation with the Secretary of State, Cardinal Eugenio Pacelli, with whose lofty spirituality and priestly dignity no one could fail to be impressed, the services in St. Peter's

and, in particular, my repeated audiences with His Holiness the Pope, remain indelibly imprinted on my memory. In all our conversations, both His Holiness and Cardinal Pacelli spoke German, of which language they both had a complete mastery. The Pope in particular expressed the warmest interest in our problems and displayed an astonishing knowledge of Austrian conditions. Beyond this, however, the alleged interference of the Vatican in Austria's internal political affairs belongs entirely to the realm of, for the most part malicious, invention. The Vatican and the Church never attempted in any way to exert influence on either our internal political or external political affairs; our conversations, on the contrary, turned exclusively on the question of the relation of Church and state in Austria, that is, on purely ecclesiastical and religious matters entirely unconnected with politics in the wider sense. The idea that the government was given instructions by the Vatican or that the Vatican endeavoured to find means of influencing the authorities, has been conjured up by tendentious and fantastic inventions on the part of those who seek, by befogging public opinion, to prepare the ground for a cultural struggle by means of which they may be enabled to achieve their own political aims.

During the first year of my chancellorship I also paid visits, in the company of the then Foreign Minister, Egon Berger-Waldenegg, to Paris and London, where we sounded opinion and informed responsible circles as to economic and political developments in Austria and the possibilities of an extension of inter-state relations. I had talks in Paris with the then Premier, M. Flandin, and the Foreign Minister, M. Laval, in London with MacDonald, at that time Prime Minister, and Sir John Simon, then Foreign Minister, talks which were of particular importance, since it was imperative to clear up and elucidate a good many misconceptions that still lingered after the events of the year 1934. Both in Paris and in London we Austrians were warmly received.

to our sincere satisfaction. My stay in London, in particular, made a very profound impression on me.

A short visit to Prague followed in the next year. I had undertaken, on the invitation of the Industriellenklub, to deliver a lecture on the subject of economic co-operation between our two countries. The close ties that bind Austria in the economic sphere to her Czechoslovakian neighbour, will only be appreciated in their entirety by those who have in their minds a clear picture of the economic struggle of the old Austria. A number of these ties, which are of vital importance to the trade between the two countries, have, of course, been carried over to the present time. My visit to Prague afforded a welcome opportunity for conversations with President Benes and the Prime Minister, Hodza, whom I have since met frequently in Vienna.

The meeting of the League of Nations Assembly in September, 1934, had already brought me into personal contact with the leading statesmen of Western Europe—among them Mr. Anthony Eden. My impressions of Geneva were of a quite unusual nature. The chief subject on the agenda was the question of the entry of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations. All the Great Powers, including Italy, who were members of the League, voted in favour of it. Austria also voted for the admission of Russia. I remember a courageous speech made by the Swiss delegate, M. Motta, in justification of his country's opposition to the proposal to admit Russia. This League meeting also brought me into contact with the then French Foreign Minister, Barthou. This intelligent Frenchman, a fervent admirer of Richard Wagner and Beethoven, bade me farewell with the half-serious, half-joking words: "*Ne restaurez pas les Habsbourgs.*" A short time afterwards he fell a victim to the assassin of King Alexander of Yugoslavia at Marseilles.

The question of monarchism was at this time arousing

the most lively interest, particularly abroad. Some people could not understand why the propaganda activities of the Legitimists were tolerated in Austria, while others desired the removal of all restrictions on them. The Austrian standpoint was clear and unequivocal. Any form of propaganda that affirmed the existence of the state of Austria as such and accommodated itself to the constitution, and hence did not repudiate the basic principles of the Patriotic Front, would meet with no disapproval. But once the Legitimists failed to confine their propaganda within this framework, which must apply equally to everyone, it would be essential once more to impose rigid restraints on their freedom of action. We should never lose sight of one thing: the question of the form of the state cannot be of decisive moment when the question of the very existence of the state is at issue. The new Austria, therefore, does not exact from any of its representatives a definite profession of faith as regards its purely *external* form, but it does demand respect for those great traditions and historical values without which Austria is inconceivable. Those who believe in the preservation of Austria's independence, must also regard the unrestricted fostering of its great traditions as expedient and comprehensible. Quite apart from this Austria will continue to adhere steadfastly to the view that the question of the reform of the state is a purely internal affair which will admit of no interference on the part of a third party, that is to say, provided that the present Austria alone is under consideration. A monarchist movement based on the Pragmatic Sanction would, I feel absolutely convinced, stand no chance of success in our country. The whole question, too, of the establishment of the Republic can to-day play no part in an examination of the legality of state institutions. The discussion of the possible difference between legal and legitimate authority must therefore be regarded as a purely academic one. What is certain is that in any decision as to the form of the state the weal and woe of the state and

the people should alone turn the scales. Historical developments are neither helped forward in the long run by impatient importuning nor can they be seriously held up by hesitation and delay. That which is inevitable follows its own inexorable laws; this holds good even should our own standard of time measurements, which is determined by the limits of probable eventualities, and is therefore apt to lose sight of remoter contingencies, prove inadequate. Consideration of these eventualities, however, can and must devolve solely on those who are charged with the responsibility for the unimpaired existence and the tranquillity, peace and prosperity of Austria.

Meanwhile, the turmoil of the years 1934 and 1935 has long since subsided, and the world has realized that it is inexpedient continually to pose problems which, even if they are not superfluous, are by no means open questions. Finally, it is the duty of every Austrian Government to prove that it possesses, apart from all personal feelings, sufficient sense of responsibility to judge what is of service to its own country and the cause of Peace. It is wrong, therefore, to think of Austria as faced with alternatives. Those who believe in the country are conscious of its vital power; its *internal* political form may appear now good, now less good; but it would be a bad thing for the Fatherland were its existence to be dependent thereon. On the other hand, every German Austrian should remember that our Imperial House, despite the calumniations to which it has been subjected, rendered unforgettable services to both country and people, and left us a heritage that meets us even now, in the new Austria, at every turn, and impels our gratitude.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

FRAGMENTS FROM A DIARY

1.12.1934

The bitter struggles of this year are over; they have exacted a heavy toll of victims and many casualties. "We have never attacked, but have simply been forced to defend ourselves." Thus spoke the dying Dollfuss shortly before he passed into eternity. This was the truth. Austria was saved and, with it, as far as could be humanly foreseen, peace was secured! An amazing vitality must, after all, dwell in this country of ours; and its mission cannot be over, or it would have collapsed under the impact of the concerted attack of the year 1934. The world slump had a crippling effect on trade and commerce; hence the desperate internal political struggle; our opponents aimed at rendering all initiative in the economic sphere impossible, hindering by violence any amelioration of the situation; hence the bombing of stations and bridges; hence the outrages in the great tourist centres; hence the effort to ruin by every possible means the Salzburg Festival, an institution of economic as well as cultural and artistic importance; hence the explosions in the Residenz, the Festspielhaus, in the Hôtel Bristol. Dollfuss had just returned from viewing the Grossglockner road; he had talked with the workmen, whose eyes shone with confidence and pride in their own achievement; he had shaken hands with Rehr, the governor of the province, whose truly pioneering achievements (as much Austrian as German) for the Grossglockner road and for the Festival

FAREWELL AUSTRIA

is an enduring memorial to him, and had savoured with him the rare and peculiar charm of the town on the Salzach. And then Dollfuss lay in his coffin; a cry rose up throughout the land; but Salzburg opened with "Fidelio"!

Es sucht der Bruder seine Brüder
Und kann er helfen, hilft er gern. . . .¹

Yes, indeed, loyalty has its own laws! He who believes in it and the forces inherent in it will refuse to yield at any price; he will stride onward with head erect; for either the labours that have been begun are necessary, good and right, and must be carried through to the end; or they are unsound, bad, in which case they ought never to be embarked upon. In any case it is out of the question to yield to intimidation, be it of never so crude a character.

It remains to be seen whether we shall succeed, despite the unfavourable times, in completing the Grossglockner road, and in drawing the Salzburg Festival further into the international limelight, as it deserves.

The peculiarly tragic thing about the furtive civil war which rent the country even before July of this year, is that both sides regarded it as a fight for freedom. But the ideal of freedom, the most precious possession of modern, progressive man, is not a thing to be brought into contempt. A fight for freedom must be based primarily on conservation and not on destruction; it demands incontrovertible proof of the possibilities of the development of its own forces and not armed and organized attempts to shatter and as far as possible destroy those forces; its tasks are to build up, not to sweep away. It must set about these tasks with arguments which even the simplest brain can grasp; it is folly and a crime to try to smash everything in one's own country, only to have to return thanks in the end for the assistance of a greater and stronger power; we have all, indeed, done this

¹ The brother seeks his brothers
And if he can aid them, does so gladly. . . .

in other circumstances and in other causes. The Austrians have already allowed this to happen once—in 1918—at that time under pressure from superior forces.

Is this to happen all over again?

And yet it so happened that notwithstanding the losses in life and property and the dissipation of forces which surely, had they been applied to constructive work, could have achieved far better things, and despite the expenditure by the state for its defence of resources which might well have been applied to furthering the economic welfare of the country, all this brought some good in its train.

That which for years scarcely anyone in the world had believed possible suddenly became a reality: Austria found itself; a flame of passionate resolve was kindled throughout the country; on all sides people were imbued with fervent awareness of being standard-bearers and fighters in the cause of freedom.

And so it had taken the unexampled pressure and the cumulative attacks of the enemy, the terrible toll of victims exacted by a lamentable civil war, to make of the second, sickly, Austria the Third Austria, Dollfuss's Austria.

The first thing to be done was to heal the wounds and to bring the country to its senses; the unhappy events of the year had inevitably led to extravagant radicalization and embitterment. As is usual in such cases, the real culprits had evaded responsibility by escaping in good time across the frontiers. The vast majority of patriots in all the Austrian provinces passionately and vehemently called for the most drastic punishment of all who had allowed themselves to be led into participating in the attempted Putsch; hence there was great need for discretion and calm deliberation.

Rigorous and, if necessary, even harsh measures had, of course, to be taken; and of course anyone who was punished was held up by his friends as a national martyr. "Persecution of nationalism," was the slogan raised. As though

convictions could exempt a man from punishment, when they had incited to crime! Convictions and principles are nowhere in the world grounds for immunity from punishment. One should not confuse them with the question of responsibility; for neither in February nor in July could there be any doubt that the instigators of the revolts were fully accountable for their actions. Moreover, there are no excusable national convictions which from any rational point of view should envisage the destruction or even the impairment of an Austria which is German to the core.

The process of pacification was thus no easy task. I earnestly desired it and worked for it and will continue to endeavour to bring it about by every possible means. Many of those also who were on the other side are thoroughly ready and resolved to play their part in bringing it about. If, however, it takes a long time, it will be because the ultra-Radicals refuse to see that their frail craft are floating downstream; at the appropriate moment a torpedo will come along and tear asunder the whole fabric. What they desire is impossible and inconceivable: the recognition of their party and coalition with that party in the legislative and administrative spheres. Those times are over and done with; quite apart from the fact that the demand for a totalitarian state in itself implies the liquidation of every other point of view, and that there is, therefore, no common basis for negotiation. Only someone who is prepared beforehand to abandon his own point of view can enter into negotiation with those who demand a totalitarian state. If they have hitherto failed to prevail upon the upholders of the ideal of a free Austria, they have still less chance of catching them napping now. The same must hold good for all Austrians. The former Socialists have not a jot more right than the extreme Radicals to be allowed to co-operate and become reconciled with the state. The prerequisites remain the same for everyone: allegiance to Austria, recognition of its constitution, declaration of belief

in the Patriotic Front and membership of it, if the way is to stand open for active political work—hence renunciation of parties of whatever kind and description, for which there is no place in the new state.

There can be no discussion with regard to these fundamental principles. Anyone who acknowledges them will not be questioned with regard to his former membership of any party, nor with regard to his views; his co-operation will be welcomed.

An official journey took me to Styria; there, as in Carinthia, the conflicts were wont to be a good deal more acute than in the other provinces. There had been a quite exceptional number of casualties there amongst the members of the administration and the Citizens Defence Corps both in February and July. In one town in the centre of Styria in which the political atmosphere was particularly tense, I inquired what were the prospects of things settling down to normal again. By way of reply I was conducted to one of the gateways leading into the town. There, in July, a retired Lieutenant-Colonel had been walking along unsuspectingly, engaged in his duties as a member of the Heimatschutz, when he was shot down by a young lad at five paces range. A war veteran with a wife and young children, whose only crime was to acknowledge himself an Austrian! The victim had, moreover, as is so often the case, spoken better German and spoken it for much longer than the man who fired the fatal shot. Just one more instance of the fate of German Austria!

All this is still vivid in my memory; the widow and the children living in the town; the perpetrator of the deed known to everyone. The voice of the leader of the Patriotic Front, whom I knew to be in general a peace-loving and tolerant man, trembled with emotion as he told me the story.

This is why the process of pacification is so difficult. Many a wound only time can heal.

1.12.1935

The constitution is slowly but surely emerging. It is no use bothering about the hundred and one local dissensions and difficulties. Individual wishes, whether of people or groups, must take second place. It is imperative not to distort the great fundamental principle underlying our work.

Conscientious heirs to a legacy do not always find it easy, with the best of good will, to fulfil their task resolutely and loyally. Not a single claim or demand has been put forward in any sphere whatsoever without Dollfuss's name being exploited to justify it. Thus it fared with Dollfuss as with Seipel. After his death everyone proceeded to invoke his wishes, though many put their own distorted interpretation on these wishes, amongst them even men who during his lifetime had been pleased to go their own way and had often enough put stumbling-blocks in his path. Now all these people were found to be eager to tread the Dollfuss path, provided, of course, that that path could be twisted to follow their own desires. Side by side with those who considered that there was far too much talk of Pan-Germanism, were those who considered that the relationship of the Austrians to the German cultural sphere as a whole was not sufficiently stressed; side by side with those who felt that there was far too much talk of "Austrian" were those who felt there was far too much talk of "German"; with those who considered that far too much emphasis was laid on the monarchist tradition, those who felt that too many difficulties were being placed in the path of the full development of Legitimism; with those who thought the line too Catholic, those who saw in the programme no possibilities for the realization of a Christian state; with those who complained that there was too much talk of the "corporate" state, those who complained that there was not enough; with those who refused to hear a good word said for the former parties, those to whom the parties seemed to be the only means of salvation; side by

side with the opponents of the defence corps their adherents. All these diverse elements came together, and in the last resort professed their faith in the Patriotic Front; and their numbers were by no means so few as our opponents would have it believed. And, despite all the divergencies of opinion, this was just as it should be! And absolutely as Engelbert Dollfuss would have wished, although he would have deplored much of the bandying about of his name. But things are like that in Austria; everything, in all circumstances, comes in for its share of abuse; anyone who does not know us Austrians may therefore now and then get a wrong impression of us. But if he attempts to join in the abuse, he is likely to discover that the Austrians prefer to keep their quarrels to themselves.

It was the duty of the heads of the state to stand above all differences of opinion and to maintain a clear and definite line. This was particularly the case in the carrying through of the constitution. The task was made easier inasmuch as there existed in the Patriotic Front a core of resolute men who were willing to give steadfast, unflinching service, for even in the political sphere such a body of men is of paramount importance at the decisive moment. This core is the real backbone of the Patriotic Front; it is this that matters and not so much those holding membership cards numbered from a million upwards.

The Dollfuss constitution set about breaking entirely new ground. We are unable, therefore, to refer to any model. There are three main possibilities. Either a written constitution is dispensed with altogether; and that is possible if a nation has a centuries-old tradition and the unwritten principles of the whole structure and apparatus of the state are part of the very life's blood of the nation, universally acknowledged and accepted as a matter of course. England is in that fortunate position. Or there is the possibility of adopting in some form or other the principle *L'état c'est moi*; there is no need, of course, for

the "I" to be an individual; it can denote a number of people or even a party; as in the case of the totalitarian state with its own rhythm of life and its own philosophy. I consider it fundamentally wrong and mistaken to reject or accept this absolutely. In those countries in which it exists, for example, Italy and Germany, it may be in its fundamental forms the right and suitable system; which does not mean to say that it would therefore be bound to prove equally suitable if imitated elsewhere. One should not forget that the beginning of the period which led to the totalitarian states saw the collapse of the old order in Central Europe, the conclusion of the Peace Treaties and the Russian Revolution, as a result of which the Soviet Union adopted as its slogan the ideological conquest of the whole world. And it actually succeeded in revolutionizing the world to a very considerable extent, but in another manner than that conceived by the Communists. We were thus faced with an entirely novel political phenomenon: the widespread victorious revolution of nationalism.

Our task was to replace a written constitution with a new and written constitutional instrument. This should serve the purpose of liquidating democratic parliamentarism, which, because of our special circumstances, had proved incapable of serving the country in its hour of need and providing a sound and enduring foundation for the state. Thus there came into being in Austria the "corporate" state with an authoritarian leadership. The state in Austria does not claim totalitarian rights. It expressly acknowledges itself in the constitution a Christian state; though this by no means excludes the separation of the spheres of influence of state and Church. It is ready, however, to respect the co-operation of both powers in those particular provinces over which state and Church have of necessity, in our view, to exercise joint surveillance. These include schools, the education of the young, spiritual guidance, and other matters affecting the rights of the individual.

in order that this co-operation should proceed without friction, the Concordat with the Catholic Church was concluded in the year 1933. No fundamental difficulties stand in the way of agreements with other religious denominations. The new constitution was in many quarters characterized as a constitution conforming to the principles laid down in the Encyclical "Quadragesimo Anno". To characterize it thus is merely to obscure the issue, for the Encyclical of the Holy Father never purported to draw up a model state constitution, but merely laid down certain norms for the reform and reorganization of a properly co-ordinated society. The guiding lines of this Papal Encyclical were recognized in Austria as directives; and this recognition found expression in the attempt to create a "corporate" state. The corporations (guilds) have been incorporated in the structure of the constitution in such a way that their freely elected representatives sit on the Federal Economic Council, and have, furthermore, a predominant say in the appointment of the Provincial Councils and Municipal Councils; and, apart from that, they have their own Chambers, in which they can deal with matters coming within their own province. The constitution foreshadows as a future development the relieving of the state of direct responsibility for those matters which come within the purview of the corporations and which they themselves can deal with. There are a mass of unsolved problems inherent in this fundamentally new order. It can only be carried into realization step by step. It is of special importance not only to include the vast majority of the wage-earners, both manual and clerical, in the corporate organizations and bodies, but also to assure them adequate participation in, and responsibility for, their own affairs. This is by no means inconsistent with a healthy continuation of the trades union principle, which in Austria can point to a development that has every prospect of success. But if the homogeneous structure of the state is not to be imperilled, the recrudescence of the

political trades unions must be avoided.

The new Austrian constitution has thus by no means turned its back on sound democratic principles or attempted to eliminate them. Its aims have been, rather, to raise them on to a new plane and allow them to work themselves out independently of purely formalistic conceptions. I regard the healthy right of self-determination as indispensable for the people of Austria. But guarantees must be created to ensure that this right of self-determination shall not be abused and, on one pretext or another, once more exploited to create a platform against state Fatherland. To prevent this, the building up of the Patriotic Front will continue to be, first and last, our most urgent political task. Out of the collaboration of the Patriotic Front with the corporations will emerge that stable internal political system which will ensure beyond doubt the peaceful and peaceable development of the Fatherland, which will permit of provision in the legal system for a division of labour on a realistic basis, and will give adequate scope for the settlement of conflicts, which will always be unavoidable but should never be allowed to lead to the imperilling of the interests of the community. Within this broad framework there is adequate scope and freedom of action for everyone, even for those who in the year 1934 rose up against Austria. But here the definite and final limits are drawn for those who have been engaged in unceasing efforts to bring about internal pacification.

Attempts have been made to characterize the new state as a purely authoritarian state, merely because the authoritarian principle is firmly rooted in the constitution. But this authoritarian principle signifies nothing but the unequivocal establishment of the limits of responsibility and the duties connected with it. Adequate provisions are made in the constitution itself against arbitrary abuses. In the first place the head of the state is placed above the authoritarian, responsible leadership entrusted with the task of carrying



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E.N.

on the business of government; he is invested with the right of appointment and dismissal of the government and is appointed in a genuinely democratic manner. Over and above this, there are a number of provisions in the constitution guaranteeing that the clear dividing line between authoritarian leadership and dictatorship shall not be overstepped. Provision has been made for the transitional period to be brought to an end with the setting up of the corporations; certain provisional appointments have replaced the elections to be held at a subsequent date. Thus before the end of last year the deliberative legislative bodies in the state, the Council of State, the Federal Economic Council and the Federal Cultural Council were appointed. But these appointments, too, were made in each individual case on the suggestion of those interests which would subsequently have full freedom to elect their own representatives. Only in the case of the Council of State will the principle of appointment continue to hold good. Finally, the fact must not be overlooked that amongst the Federal Legislative bodies is included the Provincial Council, composed of the Provincial Governors and the financial representatives of the individual provinces. The Federal structure, too, of our state in itself offers adequate guarantees that the authoritarian principle in Austria will not be carried to extremes.

It will take years of work finally to carry out the constitution and to complete the task of setting up the corporations. The transitional period we shall utilize in order to make fresh progress along the path we have taken of internal political and economic construction, and to implant a consciousness of what we have achieved firmly in the minds of our people. In this respect we must emphasize more than has been done hitherto the homogeneity of the Patriotic line. There must be no factions in Austria; every Austrian must learn to think first of the Fatherland and the national community and only after that of the subordinate organizations, his own associations, corpora-

tions and unions. Above all, the impression must not be created that in the camp of the Patriotic Front there are several groups striving for power in the state. This is essential if obscurities are to be avoided, the tempo of progress maintained, and those fundamental solutions of the problems which are bound to come realized as soon as possible. Among our tasks are the continued prosecution of a clear and consequential foreign policy, greater concentration on the building up of the defence forces of the country, unification in internal politics and the carrying out and completion of the so-called process of internal pacification. And it must be made clear who is willing to co-operate and who is determined to persist in an attitude of negation.

Thus this year can certainly not be said to have been an easy one.

I have suffered acutely enough myself during the course of it.

But the fate of the individual is of no account when the fate of the community is at stake.

1.10.1936

To-day the law with regard to universal conscription becomes effective; recruits are marching into the barracks, and a melancholy chapter in the enslavement of the Fatherland has come to an end. How times change, and with what rapid strides does the course of history proceed! Fifteen years ago uniforms and compulsory military service were banned; ten years ago no one would have believed the re-establishment of a national army possible; five years ago a storm of opposition on the part of a considerable number of the nations of Europe would scarcely have been avoidable. Three years ago there was in Austria itself a good deal of obstruction on the part of the irresolute and mistrustful in regard to conscription.

To-day there is scarcely any measure which is so certain of unanimous approval as the reintroduction of conscrip-

tion; the military profession and military uniforms are again, in accordance with old traditions, held in high esteem; one has been aware, it is true, of a certain amount of hostile criticism abroad, although in the end the view has prevailed that you cannot deprive a country, if it is to continue to exist, of the right to defend itself; but in our own country conscription was regarded as a release from degrading and humiliating bonds.

This law by no means came into existence overnight; it was the result of a long and logical process of evolution. Carl Vaugoin, Minister of War, by means of arduous and persevering labours during his long years of office, unquestionably prepared the ground for the future reconstitution of the Austrian army. There was a great deal of grumbling in those days, both justified and unjustified, at the inculcation of political ideas among the troops. Justified, because armed politicians are nowhere and never at any time a desirable phenomenon, and an army imbued with political theories, in our view, by no means represents an ideal state of affairs; but, after all, the entire period following the revolution could not be regarded as ideal in any of its manifestations. Unjustified, because the introduction of party politics into our professional army was an inevitable consequence of the penetration of every sphere of life by party politics. For the fact that, notwithstanding, it was possible to such a large extent for the old traditions to be preserved intact, and to survive the parliamentary period, so lacking in all interest in patriotic questions, the high command and the officer and non-commissioned-officer ranks who served in the war cannot be too highly praised. It is not to be wondered at that the transition to the completely changed conditions under the leadership of Dollfuss and the veteran General Prince Schönburg was not effected without difficulties and disturbances. If the difficult task was nevertheless successful, it is a tribute to the exemplary loyalty and professional enthusiasm which still lived on in

the Austrian army even in the most difficult circumstances, and to those officers who made it their business to preserve the defence forces intact for the Fatherland as the symbol of the nation's honour. The healthy aptitude of the Austrian people for soldiering in the genuine sense of the word and the profession of arms was a further factor which made it possible for us to build up our army from modest beginnings to a creditable level of efficiency with the most modest resources.

At the end of that unfortunate year, 1934, we had an establishment of no more than about thirty thousand men in all, including officers. The air arm, which had only just begun to be developed, amounted to sixty-five machines in all, sixty of which, however, were training machines.

It was obvious that vast efforts would be required to enable us to build up in as short a time as possible a body of adequately trained cadres and to equip and arm them adequately. It was not as though Austria had suddenly been seized with ambition to embark upon a career of menacing militarism; such a thing had been far from the thoughts even of the old Monarchy. The catchword of the "decadent army", an alarmist war-cry coined years before the outbreak of the war by Schönaich, the Reich Minister of War, had never been wholly heeded in Austria, but neither had it been forgotten. The little nation of to-day certainly has no need of grand gestures. But it must prove that it is ready to strain every nerve to defend its frontiers; it must stand on its own feet if it wishes to keep itself free from entanglements of every kind; and it must be able to establish beyond all doubt that the Austria of to-day, too, despite its undoubtedly unfavourable position, has not the slightest intention of being used against its will at some future date as a basis of operations. Our army is, therefore, for our friends a bulwark on which they can rely, and for every country a factor to be reckoned with when it is drawing up its plans; for our own economic life and for the peaceful

work of reconstruction within the country the defence force is and will continue to be an element of peace and the Rock and Fortress of unimpeded progress and construction: for the ability to defend oneself means strength, and strength means security, without which the peaceful will to build up and construct cannot flourish.

Times have fundamentally changed since 1920. The anti-militarist attitude of the early period of the Revolution was not merely to be ascribed to the reaction from the experiences of the war. It was, over and above that, the outcome and result of that Socialist propaganda which swayed the masses with its slogan of "No More War". No objection could be taken to this slogan were it really capable of achievement, did it not mean the paralysing of the will to self-defence and thus the sapping of the people's strength, and above all, were it impossible to doubt that it was meant seriously. This was unfortunately not the case; had it been so, a ban would have inevitably had to be pronounced, first and foremost, against civil war. It so happens that anti-militarism in all countries only plays a rôle in the dogma of the Socialists when for some reason the professional soldier in their own country is regarded with mistrust. The most eloquent proof of this is provided by Soviet Russia with its Red Army, the great power which to-day is pleased to call itself, not without reason, the foremost military power of the world.

This Socialist distrust of the army existed in Austria to a quite exceptional extent. It deepened the more the voluntary defence corps set about repairing the gaps made in the national defences as a result of the Treaty of Versailles.

It goes without saying that armed bodies organized from a political standpoint can have no lasting function, signify no end in themselves, and only have a chance of survival in so far and so long as the state is unable to claim the exclusive right to arm. The reintroduction of universal conscription therefore, of necessity put the voluntary defence corps in an

entirely different position. To have permanently allowed them a separate existence would have meant friction and confusion in all directions and in innumerable connections.

It was essential, therefore, for us to strive for the greatest possible integration and a unified leadership, while at the same time preserving the old, tried and tested spirit of comradeship; the subordination of the various corps to the general scheme of defence and, therefore, their incorporation in the defence forces was imperative. And thus the Patriotic Front militia came into being.

Careful and cautious progress along this line, so clearly indicated by the nature of the situation, was urgently desirable; for it was important not only to avoid wounding quite natural susceptibilities, but also to make sure that the impression should in no way arise that the services of the voluntary corps and the sacrifices they had made had been forgotten and that the suppression was planned of those political forces which had given the voluntary corps their political significance. Such charges were, later, made now and again, as was to be expected, but they were unjust; for those who served in the ranks it was in the last resort immaterial whether they were performing their military duties in their old corps or in the fundamentally equally voluntary Front Militia, which was organized on the lines of a professional army, but which set itself the task of fostering the traditions of the old corps. These new military formations would, rather, facilitate their incorporation within the framework of the whole voluntary defence movement, inasmuch as all personal and objective rivalries for leadership were excluded. Anyone who had occupied a position of leadership or military authority was given the opportunity of joining the ranks of the militia in that capacity, in so far as the employment of his military services came into question; if he had been a political leader—and this point was not always clearly distinguished—he would, under the new order of things, be assigned his place in the Patriotic Front,

the unity and vigour of which could only be advanced thereby. Certain regrettable wounds were unavoidably left open. This applied equally to everyone, to the member of the Heimatschutz as to the members of the other corps. Precisely because I myself had intimate ties with the Storm-Squads and had many friends amongst them—my closest colleague, the Minister of Education, Herr Pertner, was one of them—I can appreciate perfectly the hardships that the new order of things involved for the most active forces in the Fatherland. That the transfer of leadership was nevertheless carried through without essential difficulties, must be attributed to the understanding and sympathetic attitude of the responsible leaders. And credit is due not least to the General Secretary of the Patriotic Front, Guido Zernatto, who, himself a former member of the Heimatschutz, accommodated himself to the demands of the moment in the most disinterested way.

May of this year brought about an important *cæsura* in the sphere of internal politics. The Vice-Chancellor, Prince Starhemberg, resigned from the government; and the leadership of the government was united with that of the Patriotic Front. Thus there was a return to the state of affairs which had existed under Dollfuss; in order to guarantee without question the continued and consistent carrying out of the political line and to assure it for the future, the law with regard to the Patriotic Front was extended and placed on a sound legal basis.

As for me, I neither paved the way for this new order of things nor did I desire or strive for it beforehand. The charges that were at first levelled against me from time to time in this connection were therefore entirely without foundation. There were certain compelling objective reasons, lying right outside the sphere of personal matters, why things were bound, perhaps, to take this course. The expression "dualism" in our language had been handed down from the time of the old Austria. In the old days it

had had a legal and constitutional significance, but since then it had for long, and quite rightly, had for the Austrian a somewhat unpalatable flavour. Latterly, however, we had come to understand by dualism that kind of political division of power which had resulted after the death of Dollfuss from the divided leadership of the Patriotic Front and the government.

At that time it was of paramount importance to prevent conflicts in the government camp and to strengthen the united front. In consideration of the particular situation of the moment and of historical developments in general, I maintain even to-day that the solution we found in July 1934 was the correct one. Even subsequently, despite persistent and growing doubts from a third quarter, I have adhered strictly to the principle of dualism. I even attempted, in March 1936, on the occasion of a speech delivered before the "Kulturgemeinschaft" (Community of Culture) of the Storm-Squads, to give our dualism in the conduct of internal politics an ideological basis. My view was that division of political power might be a good thing, in so far as it afforded certain checks which might prevent an over-intensification of the authoritarian system. It could only have been retained provided there had existed a relationship of complete mutual confidence and consideration between the leaders on both sides. Up to February 1936 our division of power had proved in the main justified, despite all the difficulties. Our collaboration was based on mutual trust and loyalty. All attempts, from whatever side, to play off the one against the other and to destroy the existing harmony were repudiated with equal definiteness and logic by both sides. We believed ourselves to be working honestly and sincerely for a common end, and this conviction was publicly proclaimed on every possible occasion. The last great manifestation of this will to unity in the spirit of Dollfuss was provided on the occasion of the first clarion call issued by the Patriotic Front after the death of its

founder, on January 19, 1936. The line taken by the Leader of the Patriotic Front on that occasion was in every respect the undistorted Dollfuss line, and conformed precisely, although we had had no previous exchange of views on the subject, to my own standpoint. Then, however, there set in, at first only gradually but finally at a more and more headlong pace, the internal crisis which seriously undermined our subsequent collaboration. I do not for a moment admit, however, that this occurred because there were any far-reaching objective differences of opinion between us as to the ultimate goal to be aimed at and the fundamental line to be adopted. The difficulties lay right outside the sphere of the personal, and it was impossible for either of us to foresee them or to determine the subsequent course of their development and hence to prevent them. They were, rather, I am profoundly convinced, to be traced in the main to certain persons who attempted to bring pressure to bear on first the one and then the other, individuals who could never be pinned down, and whose objective was the radicalization of the individual groups within the Patriotic camp. Thus a charge of too great subservience to the Federal Chancellor was brought against the leader of the Patriotic Front, Prince Starhemberg. This charge, which was made at various meetings and exploited by certain obviously interested persons to influence public opinion, gave rise, by way of answer from the other side, to the complaint of former Christian Socials against me that I was too complaisant with regard to the Heimatschutz and its leadership. Prince Starhemberg, as might be expected, now found himself in a dilemma, for any stress he might lay on the idea of unity within the Patriotic Front brought him under suspicion in various circles of having abandoned the clear and undistorted line of the Heimatschutz. I, on the other hand, became the object of a good deal of mistrust because I had prescribed the reconstitution of the Storm-Squads of the Defence Corps into a Cultural Union. For

those who found this inevitable evolution distasteful the time seemed to have come to sound the alarm signal, and thus relations between the various corps, but particularly within the Patriotic Front as such, became more and more strained. The division in the political leadership was, of course, favourable to the influencing of all those elements, always to be found in any camp, who regard themselves as slighted because they have not been able to attain the goal of their political ambitions, imagine their services are not sufficiently appreciated, or for various other reasons are dissatisfied with the turn of events. In addition to this it was only to be expected that well-intentioned friends should also from time to time interpret as weakness a particular action or failure to act which was in reality simply an attempt to keep together forces which were united on an in any case delicate and sensitive basis. Moreover, a number of incidents occurred, each of which was in itself assuredly not of importance, but which, taken together, created a false impression both at home and abroad. Then there was the propaganda of our opponents, who had always been hoping for the collapse of the internal front in Austria and to whom every alleged breach in the ranks of the Patriotic Front seemed to be an incitement to attack. Finally, there was the tittle-tattle and gossip spread either by mischief-makers or tactless busybodies. In any case, when certain private individuals outside the sphere of political responsibility tried to create the impression that the composition of the government and politics in Austria were actually their affair and that the actual rulers were mere shadowy figures who enjoyed their political existence only by the grace of these same individuals, I felt that the time had come for me to clarify the situation. But neither Prince Starhemberg nor I were minded to bear purely nominal responsibility for any length of time without being able to enforce our own will. Each of us, on the contrary, had his own quite definite viewpoint, which coincided, it is true, in essentials, but

differed quite understandably as to political methods and in matters involving our temperaments. We agreed that there was danger to be apprehended unless a rigid, even if only outwardly clearly perceptible, unification of the Patriotic forces could be achieved. My proposal was that, in accordance with the spirit and the letter of the constitution, the policy of the Patriotic Front should be carried out by its leader in agreement with the Federal Chancellor. I admit here and now that in the circumstances this proposal scarcely seemed to be a very thoroughgoing one, and by no means offered a guarantee against future friction. Together with a number of other changes of an objective and personal nature, which I regarded as expedient and imperative, it did not meet with the ultimate acceptance of Prince Starhemberg; and so, since there seemed to be no guarantee of further useful collaboration, the government was reconstituted.

I was of the opinion that the most rigid consolidation of all our forces and the clearest possible political programme on the part of a united leadership were indispensable conditions for success. Without this unity no drastic action, as experience had taught us, could be achieved in the existing circumstances; confidence amongst the vast majority of our followers was waning, a feeling of uncertainty was gaining the upper hand, the door was being opened for the creation of myths—in the last resort only because, without there being any justification for personal charges in this connection, and without there being any question of real blameworthiness, necessary and urgent decisions were either not taken at all or taken too late; because in crucial situations a divided leadership is impossible if the carrying out of a good many indispensably necessary measures is not to be dragged out for too long and thus rendered useless. There are moments even in politics when Napoleon's dictum holds good that a mediocre general who acts on his own has a greater chance of victory

than five excellent generals who are obliged to consider one another.

It was clear to me from the outset that the decision of May of this year would at the first glance be neither welcomed nor understood in any quarter. It would assuredly have been easier to avoid it and to continue to divide responsibility. But I felt instinctively that further postponement of the solution would not be consistent with the interests of Austria. Prince Starhemberg may have been of another opinion, but in a spirit of exemplary loyalty and correctness he subordinated his own feelings to the objective demands of the situation. The way to unification was opened and had to be trodden consistently and unhesitatingly.

The effort to consolidate the position of the Patriotic Front from within had to go hand in hand with the endeavour to establish the external security of the state. Attempts had been made for some time past to steer the disturbed relations between Austria and the Reich into normal channels and to restore that state of affairs—with regard to its relation to the German people as a whole—which a few years previously both in the old and new Austria had been taken for granted. For a long time first foreign political, then internal political obstacles had stood in the way of this. Now the situation had matured, and the Agreement of July 11th, whereby both parties entered into certain contractual obligations, was concluded. The Reich declared that it would “recognize the full sovereignty of the Federal State of Austria and regard the internal political development of Austria, including the question of Austrian National Socialism, as an Austrian matter, on which” it undertook “to exercise no influence, whether direct or indirect”.

The Austrian Federal Government, in its turn, made a similar declaration with regard to the internal political development of the Reich and stated that “its policy in

general, and in particular in relation to the Reich, would be guided by the fact that Austria acknowledged itself a German state". Reference was explicitly made to the observance of the Rome Protocols and the position of Austria in relation to Italy and Hungary as parties to those Protocols.

In this declaration of the Austrian Government the points which Dollfuss had repeatedly stressed in his speeches were explicitly recapitulated. The Agreement contained not one word that could not have been unhesitatingly subscribed to on some earlier occasion by Dollfuss or his successor. Its contents were, rather, absolutely in accordance with the basis for an agreement which had been established in the preliminary negotiations of past years, negotiations which had been interrupted on each occasion by some untoward incident. Simultaneously with the publication of the Agreement the contents of certain verbal undertakings were given as wide publicity as possible in the Reich and in Austria, the aim being to create a favourable atmosphere for the Agreement and to liquidate finally and completely the unnatural state of affairs of the last few years. These undertakings concerned the regulation of the treatment of Austrian nationals in the Reich and of nationals of the Reich in Austria; the development of cultural relations; the treatment of the press question; the question of refugees; the question of badges and national anthems; economic relations, with particular reference to the tourist traffic; concerted action with regard to foreign political questions affecting both countries, Austria expressing readiness "to conduct its foreign policy with due regard for the pacific aims of the foreign policy of the government of the Reich", and to enter into an exchange of views with regard to questions affecting the common interests of the two countries. A declaration of the Austrian Chancellor was attached to the Agreements, wherein he expressed his readiness to proclaim a general amnesty, from which only those should be

excluded who had committed major crimes. In the shorthand record, the following declaration is contained under point 9b, and for the sake of full clarity is here quoted verbatim:

"The Chancellor declares that he is willing, for the purpose of furthering a real pacification at the appropriate moment, envisaged for the near future, to call upon representatives of the former so-called national opposition to share in political responsibility, whereby those individuals will be affected who enjoy the personal confidence of the Chancellor and the choice of whom he reserves to himself. It is further agreed that such persons shall be entrusted, in accordance with a scheme elaborated jointly with the Chancellor, with the task of effecting the internal pacification of the national opposition and its participation in 'political education' in Austria."

In illegal propaganda that was disseminated subsequently reference was made to alleged secret undertakings whereby the Austrian Government was said to have entered into obligations over and above those already mentioned. I have more than once come across such myths. In particular no mention was made, of course, of a reconstruction of the government, for the reason that this was a typical instance of a purely internal matter. On the other hand the basis was unequivocally and clearly established for a perfectly feasible and, to us, desirable policy which should open out the path of political collaboration for all. That pacification of the country was sincerely sought, I have often emphasized plainly enough in public. This readiness was particularly stressed when the Agreement of July 11th was published; and subsequently the conditions under which the following of a common political path was possible in Austria were frequently recapitulated. The fundamental conditions are what they always were: renunciation of all parties, incorporation in the Patriotic Front and recognition of the constitution. No doubts existed as to these fundamental con-

ditions either on July 11th or later between the parties to the Agreement. I was willing and determined to spare no effort to attain the desired goal: the smoothing of the path for external and internal pacification and the restoration of that state of affairs which is in keeping with the natural relations of the two German states to one another, states which can point to so much that is common not only in their language and culture but also in their history and destiny.

1.10.1937

The year has not so far fulfilled the promise of 1936. And yet it would be unfair to ignore the advances that have been made. Not all the questions that exercise us have been solved. But we have made some approach towards a solution of them, or at least, towards clarity with regard to the possibility of their being solved.

Outside Austria many a black storm-cloud casts its threatening shadow on the world; the cannon are thundering in Spain and in the Far East. The struggle to maintain peace has become more vital and more acute than ever. It is now not merely the armament manufacturers who have an interest in war; at times it would seem that it is no longer possible for the dominating political ideologies to dwell together in peace. It has become, however, not merely a question of converting one's neighbour, but rather of compelling him to pay homage to one's views. Quite understandably enough, no one will allow himself to be proselytized; and it would undoubtedly, therefore, be a useful means of preserving peace were the spirit of the Agreement of July 11th between Austria and Germany, the universal recognition of the principle that all direct and indirect interference in the internal political development of another country must be avoided, be applied to the whole world. So long, however, as one camp only demands that the other camp must not meddle in its affairs, while it itself finds

ways and means of asserting its own ideas and assuring itself deliveries of arms, the danger will never be conjured away. We Austrians are not directly concerned with all this; nevertheless we follow the course of events with trepidation, for we have not forgotten in the interval since 1914 how easily a spark may be kindled if explosives are piled up on every hand. What should have been effected in 1918 was, perhaps, not so much a revision of the frontiers of the Central European countries as the drawing of the frontiers of the European continent much farther west of Russia. The responsible statesmen should have thought less, perhaps, in terms of continents than in terms of the integrity of Europe, been less concerned with the organizing of the world than with the organization of Europe on a rational basis. Then perhaps we should not to-day be faced with many a burning problem that by now seems impossible of solution, simply because the drawing of the frontiers was based on false principles.

The ultimate source of all the mistakes that have been made must be sought in mistrust. Mistrust engenders short-sightedness. Both stood sponsor to the Peace Treaties of 1919. And hence the course of history was different from what it should have been if we take into account the eight million who lost their lives in the Great War.

The old Austria of pre-War days should have been given a considerable say in the shaping of history. The Succession States, taken individually, constitute a somewhat powerless conglomeration, and cannot raise their voices to any extent. We should nevertheless continue to exert every effort in the interests of peace, law and order and reason, and to give sympathetic encouragement to all endeavours to counterpose the principle of authority to that of anarchy, culture to barbarism, the spirit of the West to the materialism of the East. In the Austrian view the ultimate future of the world lies not in the antithesis between Fascism and democracy, but in that between West and East. In the West,

on the other hand, Fascism may for one country prove to be the inevitable choice, for another democracy. For us is indicated the path of a corporate constitution, which, God willing, will be realized in its entirety in the coming year.

Nothing has changed in the external position of Austria during the last year. Nor can there be any very great changes in the future. Now as ever the imperative demand of the moment is that it shall build up its own forces and stand as much as possible on its own feet, while rejecting the autarchic principle, which for small states is in the very nature of things out of the question. Particularly important, of course, both from the economic and political point of view, is the maintenance of good relations with our neighbours. Our relations with the German Reich merit, for more than one reason, special consideration. Not that a small state should ever imagine that it can influence to any great extent the opinions, aims and plans of a large state; but it must be made abundantly clear that in the new Austria the same desire for neighbourly friendship and the same readiness for amicable co-operation are as alive as was the case in the old Austria. What Austria can do towards that end it has done, and will always be ready to do to the utmost. The limits drawn for our policy have long since been traced with unmistakable clarity. Austria has carved out its own constitutional path and regards adherence to the principles of the Dollfuss constitution not only as an obvious duty of honour, which it is prepared to fulfil to the utmost, but as the fulfilment of its historical task and its cultural mission in the present age. Austria can never, therefore—acknowledge though it may to the full that it has a long historical past, characterized by race, language and, to a very great extent, culture, linking it with Germany—abandon that decisive cultural-political line, which has nothing to do with politics, but only with *Weltanschauung*. Apart from this there are no possible grounds for persevering in an attitude of opposition and

mistrust. The letter and the spirit of the Agreement of July 11th are absolutely adequate to ensure peaceful, friendly and neighbourly relations between the two countries. But they must be taken literally. Illegal circles in Austria have levelled the charge against the leaders of the country that they have not unreservedly carried out their part of the Agreement. This charge is unjustified. We have done all that we could to keep to the Agreement, even when for more than one reason it has been rendered difficult for us to do so, difficult inasmuch as some groups in the country have made a point of using the Agreement to carry through their own plans, plans which should never have been associated with the Agreement. Anyone who has at heart Austro-German friendship and not the victory of National Socialist totalitarianism in Austria, has no business to compel the state, by constantly provoking artificial conflicts, to take drastic measures, and so laboriously to fabricate an alleged breach of the Agreement. As far as we are concerned, we pledged ourselves to respect the internal political structure of the Reich, and declared ourselves willing to create the necessary conditions for pacification within our country and to pave the way for the participation of the "national opposition" in "political education" in Austria. We did not and could not pledge ourselves to allow those who had infringed the laws of our state to go unpunished and thus be accorded a privileged position denied to all other Austrian citizens. The conditions under which co-operation in all spheres of political responsibility was considered possible have been laid down by us more than once. There is nothing to add to that. All the measures that we could take to pave the way for an understanding we took without exception, without any regard to what response they would evoke among the public. It was as obvious that they would cause misgiving and mistrust on the one side, because after all that had led up to them, they would be regarded as too far-reaching, as it was to be expected from

past experience that the policy of the other side would be to represent every act of conciliation and every concession as a victory for the illegal struggle, the fruits of which had, allegedly, been wrung from the government.

All this is of no importance if the path taken can lead, as far as can humanly be judged, to the goal. The idea that success can be achieved by putting increased pressure on the government and intensifying illegal activities, is just as wide of the mark as is the attempt to force Austria, by repeated acts of provocation, to abandon the basis established by the Agreement of July 11th. For the rest, all the things that are happening in our own country and have to do with internal political differences are in the last resort of no fundamental importance. It is of far more importance to return to a state of affairs in which loyalty to the German race and German culture is not on every possible occasion exploited to provoke demonstrations against one's own country, and in which genuine and natural pleasure at German successes can be allowed free expression, as was always the case in former times. What was once possible should be more than ever possible in our present age. That it was once possible, shows clearly enough that the Austrian Government are not to be blamed for the change. It so happens that the political struggle of the last few years has given rise to certain manifestations of a particularly disagreeable character. There have always been political struggles. Nor has it ever been wholly possible to avoid certain excrescences on the body politic. The propaganda of hatred, however, which, in the last few years, has divided not only members of the same profession, but also the closest neighbours and even families, which leaves neither art nor sport, neither science nor comradeship outside its orbit, which strives to bring even children within that orbit—this is a phenomenon of recent date and has as little in common with the Austrian character in general as with the cultivation of those sound national principles which have

always been indigenous to our country. The consequence of this paralysing process was inevitably that "Austrian" and "German" to an increasing extent came to be regarded as antithetical concepts. When we have once more reached the point at which, as in the old days, the most conservative of Austrians will not shrink from acknowledging his spiritual tie with German conceptions, and those, on the other hand, who place nationalist conceptions before all else, make up their mind that in Austria the word of command is "Habtacht" and not "Stillgestanden"; when they reach the stage of allowing Austria and Austrian achievements once more to count for something, without seeing therein a "national misdemeanour"; when they once more bethink themselves of Bismarck, who enjoined upon our national firebrands the necessity of proving themselves good Austrians at home, because only then would they be regarded as the best types of German—only when we have once more reached that point will it be possible to talk seriously of pacification. A further condition of this pacification is that Reich Germans in Austria should be able to wear their emblems without giving us a feeling that their object is not so much to display in Austria, as it is displayed elsewhere throughout the world, the emblem of a friendly neighbour state, as to set up a kind of Gessler hat that must be saluted by all Austrians. Furthermore, not only must there be on the one hand an abandonment of all those propagandist exaggerations, the object of which is only too obvious, but also, on the other hand, a will to respect the emblems of the new Austria, whether they be the "Kruckenkreuz" or the badge of the Patriotic Front, as the symbols of a free German state, which have nothing to do with "crankiness" or separatism, but rather claim respect as the emblems and patriotic tokens, equally valued and equally warranted, of a German race.

Despite all statements to the contrary, we have, notwithstanding all the obstacles, made considerable progress

since July 11, 1936, both as regards bringing things in general back to normal, and relieving internal political tensions in particular. Anyone who fundamentally refuses to recognize this progress or denies it, only betrays the fact that he would in reality prefer the Agreement to be set aside.

To the vast majority of all those affected this Agreement has undoubtedly been very beneficial. It has proved itself a thoroughly valuable means of overcoming those disastrous civil conflicts which broke out in the year 1934. If it is loyally adhered to both in the letter and the spirit, it may yet yield still further successes. But those in Austria who have regarded themselves as the mouthpieces of the illegal struggle have never felt that the Agreement meant the attainment of their goal; hence their discontent and their efforts to hinder and combat any satisfactory progress for the future. But the attainment of their ends was never the meaning and purpose of the Agreement; it was, on the contrary, intended to put a period to the struggle and not to usher in a new round after a pause for replenishing weapons.

It is designed to serve the entire German people and the Austrians in particular, who hope to be allowed to carry on peacefully with the building up of their country, and not to pave the way for a new internal political struggle on a new plane. All those right-minded, reasonable people who call the Third Austria their Fatherland have had more than enough of that; for they have vivid and dread memories of the Second Austria and have not forgotten the fact that the collapse of the First Austria was brought about not least by the unrestrained character of its internal political conflicts.

The fact that the work of pacification is proceeding, and that Austria has adhered to its declared intentions, are most clearly demonstrable from the statistics with regard to political arrests and imprisonments.

From July 11, 1936, up to the end of the year 18,648

FAREWELL AUSTRIA

individuals who had come into conflict with the law as a result of illegal National-Socialist activities in the last few years were granted a pardon. These figures include reprieves and the suspension of legal proceedings already instituted.

The total number of political prisoners detained in concentration camps (the camp of Wöllersdorf and, up to and including April 1934, also Kaisersteinbruch) was:

on November 1, 1934	.	.	.	4,990
on November 1, 1935	.	.	.	326
on November 1, 1936	.	.	.	133
on October 1, 1937	.	.	.	45

Concentration camps were established in Austria on February 1, 1934.

The number of individuals in custody for political offences was:

on December 15, 1934	.	.	.	2,499
on November 1, 1935	.	.	.	2,193
on November 1, 1936	.	.	.	817
on October 1, 1937	.	.	.	1,207

These figures include prisoners awaiting trial and prisoners sentenced.

The total number of individuals condemned by the Austrian courts for political activities amounted to

in the year 1934	.	.	.	5,467
in the year 1935	.	.	.	2,844
in the year 1936	.	.	.	2,186
in the year 1937 (first half)	.	.	.	806

The official record of the number of individuals who were in custody for political reasons shows that there was,

on November 1, 1935, a total of	.	1,934	prisoners
on November 1, 1936, a total of	.	1,086	„
in the year 1937 an average monthly			
total of	.	.	900 „

FRAGMENTS FROM A DIARY

All political prisoners are included in these figures, that is to say those who, whatever their political complexion, infringed the law banning all political parties.

The so-called pacification can, of course, never apply only to isolated groups. The radicals of both the left and the right on two separate occasions in the year 1934 made attempts at armed revolt. On both occasions there was heavy loss of life; the July revolt, moreover, was ushered in by the murder of Dollfuss in the Ballhausplatz. The new Austria has been animated by the honest desire to wipe out the consequences of these unhappy revolts on both sides. For both sides the same conditions for pacification hold good. Anyone who has the will to do so, may participate in it; those, on the other hand, who persist in putting obstacles in its path, will not succeed in preventing the responsible authorities in the state from carrying out their peaceful intentions with regard to the others. Our corporate constitution will continue to be applied equally and justly to everyone.

The amnesty was a far more general one than the Agreement of July 1936 had envisaged. The number of those affected by it clearly demonstrates the progress made in the easing of internal political tension, despite all propaganda statements to the contrary. The scope of the amnesty and the events arising out of it were such that our line of policy was bound not to meet with approval and understanding in every quarter. But it is not of ultimate importance whether the actions of the responsible leaders in the state meet with universal approval and are always correctly appraised, but rather whether and how far they are justified from the standpoint of the welfare of the community. It is of no moment whether those on whom devolves the right and burden of decision are adjudged weak or strong, indulgent or firm; what matters is whether their actions are bad or good, wrong or right, in relation to ultimate results. It is not the momentary impression created and the stage

FAREWELL AUSTRIA

reached at any particular moment that ultimately count. What really matters is the final balance sheet; and that is true above all in politics; both in the case of the individual and of all political systems.

The year 1936 had very largely to be devoted not only to the task of internal pacification but also to the work of economic construction. The combating of unemployment continues to be our most urgent problem. Although a number of people refuse to admit it, we have succeeded, thank God, in achieving considerable progress in this sphere also. The new Austria has withstood the trials and tribulations of the last few years and emerged with flying colours. Figures can prove this also:

The average number of unemployed in receipt of relief was

in the year 1932	.	.	.	310,000
in the peak year of the crisis, 1934				281,000
in the year 1935	.	.	.	263,000
in the year 1936	.	.	.	259,000

The average for the year 1937 will, according to the latest figures, amount to 233,000.

The monthly average of unemployed amounted

in September to	.	.	.	176,452
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whereas in September of the previous year

it amounted to	.	.	.	216,974
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In considering these figures the fact should not be disregarded that the amelioration of the economic situation made it possible for a good many undertakings to go over from short-time to full-time employment, and that it was possible to find work for a considerable number of those who, for legal reasons, do not come within the scope of unemployment benefit. In the year 1937 it was reported from certain industrial districts that for the first time for some years there was no unemployment.

In other spheres, too, the economic statistics show an undeniable upward trend.

Austrian exports, reckoned both according to quantity and value, have been going up again since the year 1933. The proportion of the value of imports to exports, which in the year 1932 was still 181 to 100, dropped to 131 to 100 in the year 1936, and reached the level of 121 to 100 in the current year. The unfavourable trade balance, which amounted in 1929 to well over a milliard schillings, had fallen in 1936 to below three hundred million schillings. A further considerable improvement is to be expected in the current year.

The healthy condition of the Austrian economic system is reflected with particular clearness in the rising figures of production. The following figures are taken from a lecture on the "Bases of the Austrian Economic System", delivered in September of this year in the Wiener Verein, by the President of the Austrian National Bank, Dr. Viktor Kienböck. The production figures for the years 1923 and 1936 are juxtaposed. The comparison, based on only a few essential articles, provides the following picture:

Wheat: 1923—33% of the consumption home production
and 67% imports.

1936—63% of the consumption home production
and 37% imports.

Rye: 1923—76% of the consumption home production
and 24% imports.

1936—81% of the consumption home production
and 19% imports.

Potatoes: 1923—95% of the consumption home production
and 5% imports.

1936—100% of the consumption home production
and no imports.

The production of potatoes during this
period has risen from approximately

FAREWELL AUSTRIA

14,000,000 quintals in the year 1923 to approximately 25,000,000 quintals in the year 1936.

Sugar: 1923—31% of consumption home production and 69% imports.

1936—99% of consumption home production and 1% imports.

Expressed in quantities sugar production rose from 473,000 quintals in 1923 to 1,919,000 quintals on the average during the years 1934 to 1936.

In 1923 the excess of imports over home production of milk and cream was about	.	.	200,000 quintals
of butter about	.	.	16,000 „
of cheese about	.	.	43,000 „

In the year 1936 on the other hand the excess of imports was transformed into an excess of exports, amounting

for milk and cream to about	.	.	114,000 quintals
for butter to about	.	.	35,000 „
for cheese to about	.	.	31,000 „

The production of electricity amounted in the year 1923 to 1,900 million kilowatt hours, in the year 1936 to 2,550 million kilowatt hours.

Exports amounted

in the year 1923 to	.	.	20 million kilowatt hours
in the year 1936 to	.	.	341 „ „ „

The exports of wood in 1923 were about 8.3 million quintals; they rose in 1936 to about 12.3 million quintals.

The rising curve of the figures of production are particularly striking in the case of iron ore, pig iron, steel, cellulose and paper.

The foreign tourist traffic exhibits, as is well known, a very favourable upward trend, and the number of visitors

to Austria from abroad has risen considerably in the current year.

A comparative table of the figures of Austria's external indebtedness is particularly informative. From this it appears that the external debt of our Fatherland has fallen from 4,251 schillings in the year 1932 to 2,063 schillings in the year 1936; that is to say, by 51%. The sum required in the year 1932 to meet the interest service on the Schilling loan amounted to about 282 million schillings, whereas only 110 million schillings were required for the same purpose in 1937. This comparison is illuminating in view of the fact that at one time the charge of "increasing financial enslavement" to foreign countries was one of the favourite weapons used in the struggle against the creators of the new Austria and its loyal and steadfast representatives.

The Schilling obligations of Austria (loans and other credits to the Federal State, provinces and municipalities) amounted at the end of 1932 to about 1,731 schillings, and at the end of 1936 to about 2,082 schillings. Austria, therefore, has no need at all to shrink from a comparison in this sphere with other countries.

Despite all these statistics, which are unchallengeable, political agitators are always to be found who live by raising the bogey of economic collapse. But even a glance at the position of the currency of our country gives their all-too-transparent propaganda the lie. In this connection it is as well to point out that at the beginning of 1932, that is about six months before Dollfuss became Chancellor, the bank rate was 8%, while since July 10, 1936, it has remained fixed at 3½%.

These figures, which could be extended in a great many other spheres, express in no uncertain language the possibilities of development and the vigorous state of the Austrian economy. They certainly give no occasion for boastfulness, but arouse feelings of calm confidence, and give the lie more emphatically than any other arguments

to defeatism, whether of a definitely malicious or a merely thoughtless character.

In conclusion, the year 1937 offers a welcome opportunity of examining the progress made in our country in the social field. It is a self-evident fact, which cannot be overlooked, that the events of February 1934 entailed a severe blow to the vast mass of those who were enrolled in the Socialist workers' movement. And here too a certain lapse of time is required for the healing of all the wounds, if we are to refrain from the employment of brutal measures. The progress in pacification in this sphere is of quite special value and of particular importance.

Two points give rise to quite justifiable optimism :

The membership of the Austrian Unified Trades Union, which was formed after the dissolution of the free trades unions, and after a ban had been placed on the Social Democratic Party in February 1934, on the initiative of Dollfuss, was 148,000 at the end of June 1934, whereas by the end of 1936 it had already risen to 400,000. The total figure of the membership of the free trades unions has thus been considerably surpassed.

Last year, in the period October 1 to December 31, the election of "Vertrauensmänner" (workers' representatives) were held in the works and factories. The list of candidates had to be drawn up after agreement between the workers and the competent union and after an exchange of views with the Patriotic Front. In 3,515 works with 213,570 electors 9,358 representatives had to be elected. There was an average participation in the elections of 91.9%. Of the 9,358 representatives elected, 5,719 had already been appointed, and thus the elections confirmed the confidence imposed in them. In addition, there were 3,639 newly-elected representatives, but of these only 10 to 15% were elected as a result of changes made by the electors in the lists of candidates put before them. The elections were carried out under conditions of perfect freedom, and thus

the workers were given the opportunity of entrusting the representation of their interests to men in whom they had confidence. The gratifying results of the elections demonstrate not only the healthy relations and spirit of accord that exist between the Austrian workers and employees and their union representatives, but also the smooth collaboration between the economic and political authorities in question, as well as between the industrial union and the Patriotic Front. The actual facts also prove that in this case the efforts of the illegal propaganda have proved ineffective.

There is certainly no excuse for resting content with what has already been achieved; still less, however, for making light of what has happened, or for denying all the progress that has been made and painting a gloomy picture of things at all costs merely in order to persuade oneself and the world that all the efforts being made in Austria are in vain.

We must not forget that nowhere in the world do we find only light and no shadows; but seeing that convincing proof, which can only be furnished by the test of time, cannot be adduced; seeing that one cannot effect that radical cure which, in the view of the disgruntled, would consist in their being enabled to live within our frontiers without acknowledging the existence of such a thing as an Austria and its institutions—seeing that all this is unfortunately impossible, we must be sensible and cease to compare things that have no common denominator; we should not contrast with the light in other countries our own shadows, and speak in the same breath of what has been achieved across the frontier with what has not yet been achieved here; we should not envy the man with a bigger boot the length of his strides, and desire to be at all costs on the same level. It is an open question whether everyone could wear a boot of that size and whether the man who took smaller strides would not perhaps reach the goal just as surely and perhaps with less effort, even though he might take a little

longer. We should not wish to enjoy simultaneously the drums and trumpets of dictatorship and the more measured rhythm of democratic institutions; we should not strive at one and the same time for the blessings of autarchy and for the opening of the frontiers. We should not count on being able to forgo a good many of our comforts when we have not the slightest intention in reality of abandoning our fastidious and finicky ways; we should not be continually asking, "What have others achieved?" but rather, "Where do we stand ourselves?" We should never let reality slip from under our feet and never give up thinking independently; we should not abandon ourselves to dreaming and forgetfulness. The days are not so far back but we can remember them when it was painfully brought home to us what we had lost in the old Fatherland. A good many Austrians, and a good many other people, were made aware of its bright side and its advantages—when it was too late!

CONCLUSION

HANS VON HAMMERSTEIN, in an address which he gave in 1935 on "Austrian Culture", stressed the fact that it was not altogether easy to understand Austrian history, still less easy to give a clear definition of the Austrian "idea". "You may ask a whole string of good average Austrians," declared the lecturer, "what Austria is, and you will be given more or less sensible, and for the most part, no doubt, really ingenious replies, but scarcely one that is exhaustive or satisfying, some which are despairing, and none, I fear, breathing a spirit of resolute unswerving faith. But take Austria away from the Austrians, and immediately they will all be aware of what they have lost. . . ."

"Austria," said Hammerstein at another point in his address, "is temperate in the best sense of the word, both as regards its people and its climate."

This has always been so, even if we ourselves have refused to recognize it. There are times when it requires a great deal of self-restraint to preserve a sense of proportion; intemperance of all kinds is only too apt to be infectious. In the First Austria it had been from time immemorial regarded as one of the functions of statecraft to steer clear as far as possible of all forms of extravagance. The Empire flourished under this dispensation; and this applied, above all, to the people whom to serve and to benefit is, after all, the ultimate aim of every government. Only when equilibrium was disturbed on all sides, when the turmoil of political passions rose higher and higher, engulfing

even those outside the limited circles which regarded the political struggle as their life's work, only then did the old Austria begin to be shaken in its foundations.

For it was not a state like other states. It had its own laws, its own way of living, its own values and, above all, its own problems. From the moment that it was put on a level with all other states, and obliged to put into practice, on its own soil, ideas and methods that were essentially alien to it, from the moment, therefore, that it entered with unequal weapons into the field of national competition, its fate was sealed.

Whatever may have been its shortcomings and mistakes in certain directions, the old Austria, looked at as a whole, undoubtedly earned for itself the respect, the esteem and the just appraisal of posterity, even if it proved unequal to the task of solving all the problems with which the new era was confronted—and who can fail to think in this connection of the abundance of national problems and conflicts that again confront us. It is easy to criticize, harder to observe moderation—on the other hand no one has yet succeeded in improving on the old Austria.

Everywhere throughout the territory that once was the old Austria, we find, almost twenty years after its collapse, the same problems to a considerable extent unsolved; their solution is rendered no easier by the fact that they are overlooked and hushed up, and consequently more radical methods are employed in the attempt to make an end of them than was the case in the former, more tolerant and moderate Austria. The First Austria no longer constitutes a danger to anyone to-day; it will assuredly never return in its old form. It would be a good thing, therefore, were we fearlessly to take a lesson from it in certain respects. The Administration and the legislature would quite certainly be none the worse for it.

Anyone who makes a tour round the vast territory that once lay within the Austrian frontiers, will still frequently

CONCLUSION

come upon traces of the old Austria; and, indeed, the testimony they still bear is by no means to the old Austria's discredit. Though much may seem to have been thoroughly swept away, because it was looked upon as a danger to the new age and its ideas, yet ever and again the still but clear voice of the past breaks through, speaking a strange language. There is nothing corporeal about this language, nothing national, nothing political, and one should not attach to it a political significance. For it is not in yearning for the forms of the past, but in reverence for the undying spirit and for those special qualities of mind which facilitate communal life that real and enduring recognition of the great legacy handed down to us by the old Austria consists.

If I refer in this connection to the quintessence of Austria, my thoughts are not on the political plane. It is essential, at least for us in Austria itself, to be quite clear as to just what are the distinguishing features of the peculiarly and characteristically Austrian.

The peculiar essence of Austria certainly does not lie in the fact that people say "Samstag" instead of "Sonntag";¹ "Unsinn" instead of "tolle Sache";² and usually "Grüss Gott" instead of "Siegheil", nor, one may safely say, in our greater slovenliness and poorer capacity for organization and propaganda, nor in the inferiority complexes that are evidenced from time to time nor the other deplorable vices to which we are prone; but rather in the capacity for avoiding friction, smoothing out differences, presenting German intellect and German culture to the world in such a way that they meet not only with respect and objective admiration, but also with love and personal sympathy and understanding. This it is that is and will continue to be the task of the Austrian who, now as ever, as the standard-bearer of his nation, stands on the bridge

¹ "Saturday" instead of "Sunday eve", as in Germany.

² Roughly equivalent to "nonsense" instead of "absolutely mad".

(Translators' notes.)

that joins the various cultures of Europe. One should not therefore rack one's brains wondering whether this "Austrian" really exists or whether he has perhaps merely been invented out of sheer obstinacy. It is necessary, certainly, that we ourselves should fearlessly, unreservedly and finally acknowledge ourselves as Austrians. In the Second Austria it was often believed that such a profession of faith might relegate us as a nation to the twilight. But that was only put forward by those who, out of spiritual bias, are given to seeing everything to do with Austria in a half light. We shall never convert such people. It is a great gift to be able to discern spiritual values and to see things clearly in all their profundity. No amount of persuasion and persuasiveness are of use, but only experience.

The exigencies of the times made it inevitable that during the period of the Second Austria we were unable to discharge many of our debts to the Fatherland; and the impression may have been given that we were ashamed of our country.

Anton Wildgans roused us in his speech on Austria. ". . . We who are working to build up this new Austria have no reason to repudiate the old one. On the contrary, we well know that for the moment we have it to thank for practically everything, burdened though the heritage that has been handed down to us from it may be with many a curse and misery. But there are also treasures in our heritage, the treasures of a venerable culture and a quite special type of humanity, and these are all that matter. . . ."

Out of struggle and need was the Third Austria born. The concluding words of Hugo von Hoffmannsthal's speech in 1914 in honour of Prince Eugene might have been written as Dollfuss's epitaph: "This Austria of ours is a structure of the spirit and ever and again the envious seek an opportunity of disrupting it and reducing it to chaos; but a man can do immeasurably great things, and, indeed, ever and

CONCLUSION

again at appropriate intervals Providence calls upon a man from whom great things are demanded and who is capable of those great things."

But are not many of us even to-day in moments of despondency assailed ever and again by doubts of Austria? Has it still any meaning, we wonder, will it succeed in asserting itself? Is there any point in continuing to profess one's faith as an Austrian in the Austrian Fatherland?

The answer can only be an emphatic affirmative. The form, the outward shell, is transient; the soul goes on and is immortal, and our only duty is to hearken to the lessons of history and to the voices of the greatest among our people.

There have always been, in our country, for almost as long as it has had a name, doubters; and yet Austria survived the Thirty Years' War, the disturbances of the eighteenth century and the Napoleonic era, the eruptions of the century preceding the World War, and lastly, despite all, sorely wounded, but yet living, the World War itself.

It recently awoke for the third time to new life; at a time when the number of those who professed their faith in the meaning and the mission of the Austrian Fatherland was steadily decreasing. All this cannot be without significance.

The struggle for Austria and Austrian values was as real in Schiller's day as it is in ours; otherwise there would be no explanation for the famous declaration from "The Death of Wallenstein":

"The Austrian has a Fatherland which he loves and has reason to love."

One of our greatest countrymen, one who was possessed of all the characteristics of the typical Austrian, who was the very embodiment, as it were, of Austria and its destiny, had many a bitter and angry word and many a sharp, caustic reproof for his country, but he never wavered in his faith

FAREWELL AUSTRIA

in and allegiance to it. Again and again in ever new forms did he sing the anthem of the Fatherland:

O gutes land! O Vaterland! Immitten
Dem Kind Italien und dem Manne Deutschland
Liegst du, der wangenrote Jüngling, da;
Erhalte Gott dir deinen Jugendsinn
And mache gut, was andere verdarben!¹

And at a later period, but at a time when no one could as yet foresee its later development, it was Hermann Bahr who, coming from an entirely different camp, in 1908 wrote prophetically in his *Stammbuch* of the Austrian youth: "I can only wish you one thing: Take heart for Austria! For years I have cried: take heart for Austria! And my last word will still be: take heart for Austria! Austria exists only in our yearning for and confidence in her. Austria lies hidden deep in the breasts of its workers. A new generation is bound to come to raise it up. Then, when it appears, our gladness will shine forth and lighten the nations of Europe." (*Book of Youth*.)

After him came Hugo von Hoffmannsthal, who likewise, long before the dawn of the Third Austria, concluded a lecture entitled, "Austria Mirrored in its Poetry", with the words: "Without a touch of spiritual universality a future Austria can neither be desired nor believed in."

And once again Anton Wildgans, in 1929:

Österreich heisst das Land!
Da er's mit gnädiger Hand
Schuf und so reich begabt,
Gott hat es lieb gehabt!²

¹ O goodly land! O Fatherland! Between
The child Italy and the man Germany
You lie, a red-cheeked stripling.
May God preserve to you your youthful spirit
And mend anew what others have impaired!

² Austria the land is called.
Since God with bountiful hand
Created it and so richly endowed it,
He must have loved it.

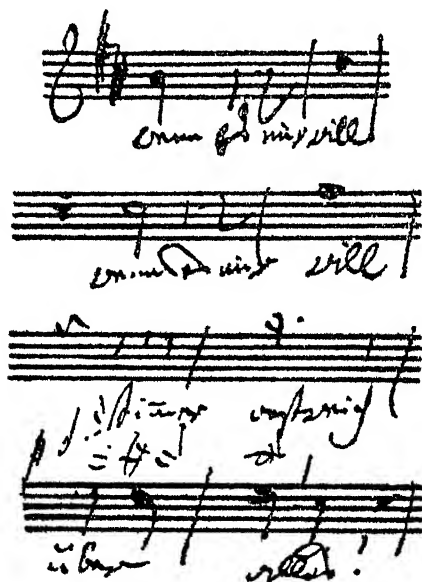
CONCLUSION

His contemporary Hoffmannsthal declared: "Austria first became a spiritual entity through its music, and in this form it conquered the world."

Many have become Austrians who were cradled in other German countries; among them that greatest of all Germans, who performed his life's work in Austria, who from Vienna conquered the world, and whose legacy and grave we hold sacred and care for: Ludwig von Beethoven.

At a time when it seemed as though Austria's fateful hour had struck, at the time of the wars of liberation, the greatest of all Masters set to music the words of Heinrich Collin, the singer of soldiers' songs:

If it but will, Austria will always be supreme. It will, it will!



FAREWELL AUSTRIA

Chance so ordained it that this phrase of Beethoven's was in 1934 unearthed and brought to light from the treasures buried in our archives.

So be it then!

It will!

APPENDIXES

- I. DR. VON SCHUSCHNIGG'S SPEECH TO THE FEDERAL DIET ON FEBRUARY 24, 1938, FOLLOWING HIS MEETING WITH HERR HITLER AT BERCHTESGADEN.
- II. DR. VON SCHUSCHNIGG'S SPEECH IN THE STADTHALLE AT INNSBRUCK, MARCH 9, 1938, ANNOUNCING THE PLEBISCITE.
- III. DR. VON SCHUSCHNIGG'S LAST SPEECH, BROADCAST AT 7.30 P.M. ON MARCH 11, 1938.

Dr. von Schuschnigg's speech to the Federal Diet on February 24, 1938, following his meeting with Herr Hitler at Berchtesgaden.

“AUSTRIA MUST REMAIN AUSTRIA!”

GENTLEMEN of the Federal Diet! Honourable members of the Federal Assembly, Comrades of the Front, Men and Women of Austria!

In a decisive hour the Federal Diet has assembled in this hall, the council-room of the old Parliament of the Monarchy, in which, more than once in the course of the past half-century, Austria, its meaning, its significance, and its existence have been the points of debate. If I have asked the Honourable President of the House to convoke the Federal Diet in a special session, if, furthermore, the other members of the Federal Constitution and the leading officials of the Patriotic Front are also assembled here, there is this formal reason for it: the complemented government which, at my suggestion, has been appointed by the Federal President is to be presented to the House. The names and the official spheres of activity of the newly-appointed Ministers and State Secretaries are known to the Federal Diet and to the Austrian public. But the very fact of the increased number of my colleagues, the greater extent of the government bench, shows unequivocally and plainly that the responsible leaders of the state find themselves confronted by

special problems which—let me state it beforehand—they are determined under all circumstances to solve.

This, however, is not the moment to tarry at outward appearances and to judge the probable serviceableness of a larger or smaller number according to one's individual taste. Now is not the time to discuss the frequently cited laws of better, or worse, political optics: there is now no room at all for debate, but only for decisive action, for a mobilization of the confidence of all who are ready to pledge themselves positively, for an appeal to reasonable consideration and discernment, and for an attempt to concentrate the entire sense of responsibility of those who know the meaning of responsibility. For the one and only point on the order of the day, without non-essentials or debate is: Austria!

This clearly expresses the entire contents of the government's declaration in all its parts.

The government and all its members stand immovably upon the foundation of the Constitution of the 1st May, 1934.

They consider it therefore their first and self-evident duty with all their strength to maintain the unimpaired liberty and independence of the Austrian Fatherland. They see their task in safeguarding, with all the means at their command, the peace towards the exterior and in spreading and maintaining, to the best of their knowledge and belief, the peace in the interior. In the fulfilment of this task the Austrian Government, at the same time, upheld by the full force of conviction, sees its unrestricted recognition of its German duty.

Wherein, then, lies the ultimate significance of the autonomous and independent Austria, willed by Engelbert Dollfuss whose heritage we have assumed in difficult times?

The fight for independence has a significance if it succeeds in smoothing the way of all classes of the German people in Austria towards happiness and prosperity, to work and a free space wherein to live, and to a healthy development; in healing the wounds which an unfortunate war and

a deplorable peace have inflicted upon the German people in Austria and upon the numerically small foreign minorities having their home on our soil.

Beyond this, however, the fight for independence has a significance because we are serving a principle which, almost five hundred years ago, was clearly expressed by the Council of Worms under Emperor Maximilian and towards which our conscience impels us; which gave its meaning to the Maria-Theresian as well as the Francisco-Josephinian Vienna; which as the only ray of light, was left, after the collapse of the year 1918, to a vanquished and dispirited people, deprived of its rights; which, at a later moment, constituted the sacred flame, guarded by Ignaz Seipel's life-work, and the principle for which Engelbert Dollfuss bled to death; which to me, who, at this time, carry the full and undivided responsibility for this country's policy in accordance with the stipulations of the constitution and my appointment by the Federal President, is the decisive motor of political thought, will and action: the fundamental law of the harmony of our culture, for the sake of which life seems to us livable and worthy of man—composed of a perfect union of classic-humanistic, National-German and Christian-Occidental elements; if you want to express it differently, composed of the hereditary tendencies of a definite and clearly defined fundamental spiritual attitude, a blood-and-soil relationship, and of the belief in an immortal soul.

This the scholar, the scientist and the artist will be able plainly to understand and to analyse. This the peasant and the workman, unless their minds should have been artificially obscured, will feel without individually or consciously accounting to themselves for it. It is expressed in the aspect of our German landscape, in the development of boundary laws and town-like settlements, in the country's pictures and buildings, its songs and its customs, its oral and plastic art, in its cares and in its history. It is expressed in the faces of hundreds of thousands of our German population, in

their families' fate and in their names, not infrequently in their personal sorrows and experiences, in their temperament and in their world of emotions, in their adaptability and their popularity throughout the world, in the special accents of their idioms and in the word formation of our traditional everyday language, in their devoutness and craving for liberty. It speaks from the living rhythm of the homeland: This is the purpose, this is the essence, of the new Austrian!

To serve him and, at the same time, a valuable part of the entire German people, to co-operate within our boundaries, modest but our own, in the all-German fate, as has been the case for ever and aye—truly German—faithfully Austrian always—this is what the Federal Government has chosen as its supreme task and as its determining orientation.

It has been my endeavour to have the Federal Government appear, as far as that is possible, as the faithful reflection of all economic and social but, at the same time, also of spiritual, tendencies in our country because, in the present situation, that seems proper and right.

There is no need for me to emphasize that we have felt unable to adopt foreign symbols because, on the one hand, slogans coined by political situations should, as a matter of principle, be valid only within the confines of the country of their origin, and, on the other, because it is a well-known fact that, with the adoption of the May Constitution, Austria has set out upon new ways which have a parallel only in the brave Free State of Portugal.

The constitution recognizes no parties and no Party State. It undertakes the vocational division of the people, the authoritarian head of the state being provided as a regulating factor. For this very same reason, there can be no coalitions, whether in the political life or in the government. The government which I have the honour to present to the House cannot, therefore, and does not wish to be, in imitation of patterns of bygone days, a coalition government or, in other words, a party government; but its ambition

continues to be one of representing the concentration of all the positive forces of our people. For, as will have to be explained later, to every Austrian ready to co-operate and determined to devote his energies to our task of reconstruction the way to work, pointed by the government, is open.

We shall have to refrain, as a matter of principle, from pronouncing judgment upon political institutions and systems in vogue in other countries. We are able, therefore, to emphasize, without incurring the risk of being misunderstood, that the political term of a Popular Front which has its origin in the terminology of party states and their coalition governments, is as inapplicable to Austria as is its antithesis, the dictatorial constitution.

What we in Austria want, cannot and must not be classified according to the political terms of right and left, according to the political colours of red and black and brown and green. It is not a party-bound Popular Front, but the united, close front of our people in all its social strata and classes.

To serve this common front of Austrians, to make it a reality, and to maintain it, is the essence of the goal and the programme of the government.

And now for the second determining factor which demands that I and my colleagues render an account to the Federal Diet, to the Federal Assembly, to the entire Austrian people, and, beyond that, to the world, in so far as it is interested, as we are, in the maintenance of the priceless possession of peace within our realm.

The Chancellor and Führer of the German Reich invited me to a personal consultation, which took place at Obersalzberg, on the 12th February. The actual application of the well-known Agreement of the 11th July, 1936, which was intended to safeguard and regulate the amicable relations of the two German states, has led to difficulties, the continuance of which signifies a source of acute danger.

The very fact that this personal meeting was treated as

a political sensation far beyond the frontiers of our country and of those of the German Reich shows that, in spite of all our endeavours, we have not entirely succeeded in loosening the tensions which, for years, have been weighing upon the German realm, upon Austria and Germany; a condition which, according to our firm conviction, has been brought about by no fault or wish of ours and must be, for any length of time, unbearable because it is abnormal.

Every abnormality implies an absence of common sense; and every absence of common sense is unquestionably fraught with danger. That the world is conscious of that fact is shown by the lively interest in the meeting at Berchtesgaden, an interest which would otherwise be difficult to explain, in view of the fact that such personal contacts for the interchange of political opinions and the settlement of inter-state questions are by no means unusual. And so this day at Berchtesgaden was, as I and with me the Chancellor and Führer of the German Reich confidently hope, a landmark intended to regulate amicably, once and for all, the relations of our two states in the interest of the entire German people, of its culture and its daily life, and in the interest, especially, of our Austrian Fatherland: a Landmark of Peace!

In substantiation and to make things clear, a short survey is unavoidable. It has been the tragic fate of our people that, again and again in the course of history, periods have occurred when German was opposed to German, times of fratricidal war. That it has been impossible, in spite of the earnest endeavours of responsible men, entirely to overcome this spirit is amply due, according to my innermost conviction, to that one-sided method of recording history which, as a famous German historian once acknowledged before the War, considered it its task to write subjectively coloured, and not objective history as an aid and weapon on behalf of a proposed future development, thus confounding the writing of history and politics, and unfairly distributing light and

shadow. It remains a painful fact that this was done mostly to our disadvantage.

It is certainly not our purpose to invoke the spirits of 1866, although there is no gainsaying the fact that, at that time, Austria's arms were taken up on behalf of the thought of a German Federation, and that, fighting courageously and honourably for the Pan-German idea in the north and south, we were defeated. We should not sit in judgment on matters of the past and there is no sense in searching for the reason why things turned out as they did and perhaps had to turn out that way. The Wilhelminian Empire came into existence and, with it, that organization of Central Europe which, in the Dual Alliance, succeeded in welding together, for generations and for better or for worse, a community of interests comprising 120 millions of people in the very heart of our continent, about two-thirds of whom were Germans.

Many a proud word has been spoken in the capitals of the two Empires. One of the most beautiful, and one which every Austrian and every German, wherever their home may be, would do well never to forget, was uttered by Francis Joseph when he said: "I am a German prince!" That was well said: the old Emperor, as a man and as a knight, was unable to speak otherwise. As a politician, a different expression would have been conceivable—conceivable but, in spite of possible momentary advantages, certainly not correct, for Austria stands and falls with its German mission. All it needs is to be left to go its way and not to be deprived of the possibility of fulfilling that mission.

For almost a hundred years the German question has not been permitted to rest in this country. Greater German, Smaller German, Greater Austrian: they were opposed to each other and the best heads of our country continued to wrestle with the problem. If the walls of this hall could speak they might tell us of the strange fact that, even in times of the most severe struggle of nationalities under the

old Monarchy, the Germans in this country never succeeded in forming a common front, but, in dozens of shadings, from Socialists, by way of Liberals, of Progressives, and of Radicals, to Conservatives, kept arguing which of them in truth were the better Germans. But, in spite of it all, I am thoroughly convinced that it was the good Austrian who deserved that distinction. This conception is supported by no less a witness than Bismarck. The argument was not concluded when the Great War swallowed up the contrasts in a sea of fire. The end of the War came and, incredible as it seemed, the argument as to who was the better German was merrily resumed.

To-day, thank God, the mentality and the slogans of the revolutionary period, which threatened to destroy what little was left of Austria, have been overcome. I am not in favour of a wholesale condemnation of all those who, at that time, were carrying a none-too-easy load of responsibility. General need, hunger, confusion, hopelessness of preserving even a fraction of our Austrian heritage and of saving it for better times to come, deprived many of the ability to look into the future, and of their common sense. To make matters worse, there was the Peace Treaty, against the injustice of which we have never ceased to cry out, and the lie of having caused the War which, from the beginning, we have branded as a brutal distortion of truth: we have waged a relentless fight against these lies and against those who, for reasons of party tactics and in the crazy belief of being in that way able to establish a socialistic regime in Austria, were busy spreading them. These same circles were the first and the loudest in demanding the cessation of Austria's integrity and in promising the Austrian worker a paradise once our country should be finally liquidated and the mechanical "Anschluss" to the then socialistically governed Reich an accomplished fact.

It would certainly be a fundamental error and a sin against the spirit of history, which no one could commit unpunished, were one to try, out of a given political situation

or even out of economic considerations of the moment and in an attempt to provide temporary relief, to find the solution of basic questions which can be permanently and historically solved only when untouched by the influences of momentary moods. The forces which, in the parliamentary-democratic days of the post-War Austria, had to shoulder the responsibility were agreed on three points: the necessity of staking every endeavour and every effort in the fight to overcome that disintegrating internationalism which threatened to engulf the vital forces of the people in a Bolshevik adventure; the fight against and the righting of the wrong which had been inflicted upon the country by the Peace Treaty and by the war-guilt lie with its tendency to undermine our world reputation. Finally, all were thoroughly agreed upon amicable relations with the German Reich, springing from a community of fate, a common history of long standing, a common nationality grown out of a community of language, blood and culture, and the geopolitical situation of our Fatherland which was independent of any internal political constellations. When Engelbert Dollfuss, on the 27th May, 1932, took over the government, he uttered these memorable words in his inaugural declaration: "All the world must realize that we, an independent German state, are fully cognizant, because of blood ties, the history and the geographical situation of our country, of our very close affiliation with and friendship for the German Reich, a friendship entailing rights as well as obligations."

And, in spite of it all, there ensued a fratricidal struggle with all its suffering and terror, no less painful and no less embittered in its various phases than in some unfortunate period of the past. And this fratricidal struggle, with its culminating points and its troughs in the waves of passion, with its untold sacrifices, with its destruction and alienation of men, with its blood-bespattered trails and its continuous fanals of hatred and embitterment, with its poisoned arrows in the arguments engendered by political strife, with its over-

crowded arsenals of possibilities for hurting and distorting public opinion, with its temporary abatements on the occasions of repeated attempts to bring about a peaceful settlement—this fratricidal struggle has lasted a full five years.

And now we are to have peace! A peace which will do justice to both parties, an honourable peace in a struggle which, for too long a time, has been waged with unequal weapons, and a peace which, God willing, will put a definite stop to that struggle. It was a struggle which could be of service to none, which could only destroy and deny, but never construct or affirm; which was wholly waged on Austrian soil; which could never be in the interest of the German people and the German realm, no matter how its ideal formation may be regarded; which included subjects and thoughts that, like world conceptions, had better have been left out of the daily strife of political opinions; which was bound to be painful to every German and brought profit to no one else, for, in the last analysis, it harboured a wealth of dangers for the maintenance of the general peace in which all states are equally interested.

This conclusion of peace after a five-years' fratricidal struggle was the meaning and purpose of the meeting at Berchtesgaden on the 12th February of this year.

At this moment I do not think any useful purpose can be served by reopening wounds which have hardly begun to heal, by inquiring into the question of guilt, or by pointing to what, on our part, might be recalled in order to establish clearly and unequivocally our country's honest endeavours to terminate the period of strife. I wish only to recall the last words of the dying Chancellor, Engelbert Dollfuss: "I have never sought anything but peace. We have never been the aggressors, and we had to defend ourselves. May the Lord forgive them."

A dying man does not lie. He always speaks the truth.

This was the same Engelbert Dollfuss, whose way we

APPENDIX I

are determined to go, who, in April 1933, long after the fight had broken out, cried on the occasion of a great meeting: "We Austrians are fully conscious that our destiny is closely intertwined with that of the entire German people," and who at the first general roll-call of the Patriotic Front, in Vienna, on that historical 11th September, 1933, started his pronouncement of the new constitution with these fundamental words: "We Austrians are German and have a German country."

When I reported to the Austrian people concerning the arrangement of the 11th July, 1936, which was intended to prepare the way for a peace and contained the fundamental principles of the peace possibilities, I pointed to the speech which I had made before the Austrian Federal Diet, on the 29th May, 1935. I said at that time: "Austria has never permitted any doubt to exist, and never will as long as we live, that it acknowledges itself to be a German state." And now I say: "Neither have I anything to add to this to-day."

The Chancellor and Führer of the German Reich declared in his great speech to the German nation, on the 20th February of this year, in reference to the results of the interview at Berchtesgaden, that these agreements were complementary to the arrangement of the 11th July, 1936; difficulties which had arisen in the execution of this arrangement of the 11th July having made compulsory an attempt to remove misunderstandings and obstacles to a final reconciliation.

The arrangement of the 11th July which, accordingly, is viewed by both partners to the Agreement as furnishing a basis for the Berchtesgaden interview, contains, in the first place, the positive declaration of the Chancellor and Führer of the German Reich that the German Reich's Government recognizes the full sovereignty of the Austrian Federal State. It furthermore contains the declaration that both governments consider the internal political organization

existing in the other country, including the question of Austrian National Socialism, an internal affair of the other country which they would not try to influence either directly or indirectly. It finally contains the declaration that the Austrian Federal Government would continue to keep its policy, generally and especially in regard to the German Reich, on that fundamental line which was in conformity with the fact that Austria professes to be a German state. Reference is also made to the continued existence of the Roman Protocols which regulate the relations of Austria with its neighbours, Italy and Hungary. To ensure a smooth carrying out, measures were provided by both sides which referred, on the one hand, to the internal political pacification of Austria as a condition for the healthy functioning of the arrangement and, on the other hand, were to guarantee German non-interference in the inner political affairs of Austria.

The arrangement of the 11th July, 1936, had been in force for almost two years. Attempts had not been lacking on either side to overcome recurring friction and obstacles. The last attempt in Austria was made about a year ago, in February 1937, when, among other measures, the so-called Committee of Seven, with headquarters in Vienna's Teinfaltstrasse, came into existence, having for its purpose internal pacification, and certain personnel changes were made. The fundamental condition adopted on that occasion and expressly recognized by all parties concerned by the affixing of their signatures—the discussions of February 1937 having come about without the co-operation of the German Reich's authorities—was, it will be recalled, the recognition of the constitution of the 1st May, 1934, the recognition of the Patriotic Front as the only representative of the political will in Austria, and the renunciation of every illegal activity, the aim of which, in the last analysis, would always be bound to be the re-introduction of the National Socialist Party, a proceeding contrary to the

APPENDIX I

constitution; both parties to the agreement taking cognizance of and affirming with their signature the fact that any future illegal activity would continue to be punishable by law.

We, on our part, declared a far-reaching political amnesty, repeating and expressly announcing the fundamental principle that co-operation in the Patriotic Front was open to every Austrian who was prepared to adopt the legal way, regardless of the political cause he had espoused before. All that occurred in February 1937.

Being a matter of the past, it would seem to be superfluous to examine in detail why the proposed way, by itself, did not lead to the desired success. The appeal to co-operate did not fail to bear fruit, as proved by the greatly increased number of applications to join the Front before the announced definite closing of the lists. It would be an easy matter, on the basis of a thorough knowledge of existing conditions, to dissect, if need be, the further development until February 1938, and the causes of the new and increasingly threatening tension.

The real reason, speaking summarily, lay in the fact that certain Austrian parties were at work which thought it proper to disturb and poison inter-state relations through incorrect information and, as was apparent in a number of pamphlets which were circulated as late as the beginning of the current year, to contradict the sense of the arrangement of the 11th July and the plainly declared will of the Reich's Chancellor and Führer, in order to make possible a renewed illegal activity aiming at the re-establishment of conditions that existed prior to the 11th July, 1936.

That time, too, is now past. The new agreement has been concluded and it is our fervent wish that it will wholly fulfil what both parties expect of it. If it is pointed out by the German Reich that it is incompatible with the prestige of a Great Power and with the dignity of the German nation for Austria to fight the prevailing German state ideas, I, in

turn, should like to point out that Austria was at all times ready to take cognizance of these ideas, all the more so as internal German affairs have never been the subject of political discussions in Austria. I am wholly of the opinion that this principle can be rigidly adhered to and carried out unless internal Austrian discussions and, especially, an illegal activity aimed against the Austrian idea and organization of the state should be made the equivalent of one's attitude towards German state ideas.

The arrangement now concluded bids fair to be successful and does justice to all conditions for a satisfactory development and a lasting peace. We regret that we have been unable to make amends for all the mischief which the year 1934, with its disturbances of public peace in February and July, brought in its wake. The victims were many, all too many. We Austrians lost the man of our people, the brave pioneer of a new era who succeeded in overcoming the foundering formal democracy of an inefficient parliamentarism. We lost our leader, Engelbert Dollfuss. As is usual in the case of revolts where it is not a question of right or wrong, but one of success or failure, the gamblers, of whatever side, having in time assured themselves of foreign help, fled the country. There remained those who, in the majority of cases, had trustingly followed their ideal and had been ready, arms in hand, to obey. It was chiefly they who had to feel the severity of the law. In this hour, we bow our heads to all victims.

He who mounts the barricades, not in a calculating spirit, but out of idealism, believing that he does his duty, has never been the real beneficiary of a revolution. Therefore, if fate remained kind to him and settled times returned, he always and everywhere was entitled to a reconciliation. That is the sense of amnesties. The deciding point is not whether in any individual case the amnesty is properly applied and bestowed upon a worthy person, but in the fact that a final line is to be drawn under all that was, so that

unhampered, a new era may have its beginning. The spiritual condition for this is the overcoming of hatred and a relinquishment of that attitude which, with the mere conception of an adversary, combines the will to destroy him. We all have a home country. The home country is unable to live if constant strife roots up the soil. The land cannot prosper if too many of its sons aim at impeding its progress. The people, on the other hand, can under no circumstances be benefited if the land and the home country have to suffer new wounds again and again. The land and the people will live, whatever happens. What we want, however, is that every one of us should be enabled to do even better than before, be socially more just, still more unconditionally national, patriotically more faithful and more reliable.

This will have to be demonstrated. It is our one conclusion in which, compared with our previous standpoint, there is nothing new: Close the ranks of the Front in which there is room for all. He who purposely stands outside the Front may have his way, too. But he will not be justified in complaining that he has had no chance to co-operate. One thing we shall never permit to occur, and that is that the Front should be slain by the Rear.

We have now furnished ample proof of our good will and confidence. We have invited the former party-bound Social Democrats to co-operate in the Patriotic Front; we have offered to the former party-bound National Socialists and the members of all other groups, under identical conditions, the opportunity for co-operation. This is nothing new. During the whole period of the much-talked-of and much-disputed work of pacification dozens of declarations spoke of nothing else. The German Peace, as I may be permitted to call the arrangement that has been concluded, again explicitly opens the way to those who profess to espouse the National Socialist ideology, so that they may co-operate with all others, provided their attitude is openly, clearly, and unequivocally, in accord with the principles of

the constitution which, according to the will of Engelbert Dollfuss, has created the autonomous and independent, German and Christian, and vocationally organized Austria under authoritarian leadership; in accord, further, with the fundamental principles of the Patriotic Front, beside which no political party and no form of political organization may exist in Austria, and within which the equality of rights for everybody is assured, accompanied by an irrevocable maintenance of its principles.

The observance of the Austrian laws, including of course the law concerning the Patriotic Front and the recognition of the Austrian Constitution has been made, as was the case in the inner-Austrian Agreement of February 1937, the expressly stipulated and unequivocally formulated condition of co-operation in the present inter-state arrangement. On the part of the German Reich, the assurance is repeated that necessary provisions shall be made for non-interference in the internal political affairs of Austria, in such manner that the Reich's government is ready to take measures which will preclude German interference in the internal affairs of Austria. It has been agreed and stipulated that illegal activities in Austria may count upon no manner of protection on the part of foreign authorities and upon no toleration on the part of the Austrian Federal Government, but that, on the contrary, every unlawful activity will of necessity bring about the punishment provided by law. Let this be a final declaration on this point because it seems to be particularly noteworthy for a special reason.

I have spoken of an honest peace. It would have been dishonest had it turned out as certain Austrians predicted but a short time ago, speaking of the invalidity of the Austrian Constitution and of men in the state leadership who had broken their oaths, of force and terror and of the reinstatement of parties. It was an honest peace because the principles which we have always upheld in connection with the constitution and the Front, in other words, in con-

nection with the foundations of our state construction, have remained unaltered. We know exactly that we were able to go, and did go, to that boundary line beyond which, clearly and unequivocally, appear the words: "So far and no further!"

We have not hesitated to go as far as that boundary line, because, trusting in the word and in the personality of the Führer and Chancellor who successfully guides the destinies of the great German Reich, we have decided to walk a common road with him which, if it is trodden consistently and conscientiously, will, we are convinced of it, lead to the welfare of the Austrian Fatherland and of the entire German people; and which is in the interest of European peace.

I wish to lay great stress upon the declaration that, fully conscious of my responsibility and with a thorough consideration of the vital interests and the peaceful existence of our Fatherland, I am ready, without any mental reservation and with entire clearness of purpose, to redeem the Austrian word. I, and all of us, shall be happy in the knowledge that a hard time, full of sacrifices, has found its termination in a hard day, the 12th February, 1938, and has led to a genuine German peace, a peace, which to maintain and deepen, would be worth all the sacrifices.

And now to the purely internal Austrian side of the question. The fundamental principles of our state's construction are so plain and have been so frequently discussed; the immovability of that orientation which is symbolized for us most clearly by the name of Dollfuss Course has so often been emphasized, that all this would seem to require no further repetition and reassertion at the moment. Beyond this, I summon all Austrians, alive to the problems of the day, to start in reality upon a new political common life in which, true to our principle, every individual shall be granted the maximum of liberty, in so far as it is within the compulsory confines of the Patriotic Front. Nobody needs to fear that violence will be done to his personal opinion in so

far as it is not directed against the principles and the fundamental laws of the state.

I especially summon the old and faithful standard-bearers of Austrian thought whose task it is more than ever to rally to the banner of the Fatherland and to carry it aloft, to show composure and discernment and be staunch followers and supporters. It will be their work, especially, to maintain the active force of the Patriotic Front, never so essential as at the present moment, and to inculcate into the hearts and thoughts of every last Austrian their knowledge of the values which are at stake. It is time to relegate to the lumber-room the slogans of a past epoch. Clerical and anti-clerical are terms whose long and hoary beards have ceased to impress enlightened men and by which no young man will henceforth be moved. Liberal, in contrast to modern, and conservative, in contrast to revolutionary, are words more likely to conjure up ideas which, however, ought to be used to advantage only if the speaker adds, at the same time, what he understands them to mean. Whoever speaks of Socialism or Nationalism, and whoever is wont to place upon the altar of his thoughts National Socialism ought to consider: it is not Nationalism or Socialism in Austria, but it is Patriotism which is the watchword! And whatever is sound in the various thoughts and programmes will find room in the first national and social movement in Austria, in the Patriotic Front.

If, at this moment, the Austrian people in all its component parts is called upon to rally to the flag of the Fatherland, and if we are ready to emphasize, solemnly and before all the world, our unshakable determination to maintain the liberty and independence of our country, it is but meet that we render an account to show whether there is any basis in fact for this policy of independence; in other words, whether our country is able to live and whether the possibilities for development that it requires in order to live actually exist.

Now and then, in foreign countries, we are apt to meet

with legendary notions concerning Austrian economic affairs which can spring only from a tendentious source. Looking back upon the development of recent years, the sober language of figures shows that, while we have not been able to work wonders (which under the circumstances and in view of our resources nobody could have in fairness expected), there are unmistakable signs that a very considerable, solid, and constantly broadening space of economic progress has been won. And this in spite of the fact that no other country has had to contend with difficulties that equalled ours.

Without wishing to go into too many details, let the figures speak for themselves:

In connection with the question of the employment of working forces and the stimulation of production, the export of goods is of especial importance. In the year 1933, it amounted to approximately 813, and in the year 1937, to about 1,230 millions of schillings. The increase since 1933 therefore has amounted to $55\frac{1}{2}\%$. In the year between 1936 and 1937 alone, exports have gone up by 28%. Within that period, the export of lumber has advanced from 83 millions to 131 millions of schillings, while ready-made goods jumped from 638 to 802 million schillings. It is certainly correct that the world's commercial outlook, which is of great importance to our foreign trade, has suffered a set-back in recent months, which is due principally to the conflicts and the tension in the international situation. We have suffered from this setback in connection with the export of a few semi-finished products. It is a gratifying fact, however, that, in spite of this, our exports have not grown less even in recent days. It is to the interest of us all to maintain and develop them. We are therefore determined to do all in our power to lead our foreign trade out of the wilderness of currency restrictions, clearing agreements and clearing points, which so greatly hamper commercial intercourse in Central and Eastern Europe. At the same time, we naturally

lay stress upon further developing our trade intercourse with countries free from a currency control; an intercourse which, in the past year, has been gratifyingly increased by 50%.

This development of our export and of inter-state commercial intercourse is furnishing bread and work to thousands of Austrians. The more the uncertainty in the interior of our country is removed and the more apparent becomes the confidence in a stable and quiet development both here and abroad, the better service will be rendered to the vital interests of the entire trading population of Austria. Whoever, therefore, strengthens the front of the Austrians, the united Patriotic Front, and contributes to the closeness of its formation, helps, at the same time, the unemployed. He who remains in the background or even opposes us, does harm to the work of construction, hinders development, and deprives the out-of-work of the chance to earn a living.

Not only the export figures, however, show a gratifying progress, but the same is true of the production figures, which are of no less importance. Without wishing to tire you with details, I want to point to a number of impressive and eloquent figures. The production index based upon the normal year, 1929, has, compared with the year 1933, gone up from 62% to 104% in 1937.

The production of pig-iron amounted to about 88,000 tons in 1933, and is now 389,000 tons. This means an increase of more than 342%. The steel production was about 226,000 tons in 1933. It has gone up, in 1937, to about 650,000, an increase of about 188%. The production of rolled goods amounted to altogether 181,000 tons in 1933, while it has gone up to 434,000 tons in 1937. The increase is one of about 140%. The cellulose production of 1933 was 18,500 car-loads, that of 1937 25,340 car-loads. It was therefore increased by about one-third. The paper production, in the same interval, mounted from 16,570 car-loads to 19,380 car-loads. The cardboard production rose from 2,380 car-loads in 1933 to more than twice that amount, to 5,340 car-loads,

in 1937. Within that period, the cotton-yarn production was almost doubled. In 1933, the petroleum production amounted to 855 tons. Up to 1936, it amounted to about nine times that quantity, or 7,466 tons, while, in 1937, it has gone up to forty times the 1933 figure, to 33,000 tons. It is to be expected that a further considerable increase will take place shortly. Austrian film production reached a value of 8.4 million schillings in 1933. This production value has gone up to 12.4 millions in 1937.

An especially gratifying picture is presented by the increased production of Austrian agriculture, a fact which eloquently testifies to the efficiency of the Austrian farmer and of his vocational leadership. It has, for instance, been possible, in the course of strenuous work extending over a period of more than one and a half decades, to increase the Austrian wheat production by 170%, up to 1936, and the production of rye by 100%. The production of potatoes was increased by about 430% within the same space of time, while the sugar production went up by 1100%.

Similar figures can be produced with reference to dairy and meat products. In this connection I may be permitted to point out especially that, in a time when, upon almost all international markets, grain prices and, consequently, the price of bread, showed an upward tendency, it has been possible in Austria to maintain a stable price of bread, thanks mostly to our consistent grain-price policy.

The cited figures of increased production are reflected in an increased traffic and turnover. The Austrian Federal Railways are able to point to an increase of 22% in their activity, comparing the years 1936 and 1937, and to a revenue increase relating to passenger and goods traffic of 16.3%. While speaking of the Federal Railways and traffic, mention must be made of the tourist traffic and its great importance to our country. The number of registrations of visitors was larger by 7% in 1937 than in the preceding year, while the number of registrations of foreigners went up by 22%. The

inland tourist traffic has been gratifyingly enlivened by the adoption of intelligent measures looking to a reduction of the fares applicable to short distances up to fifty kilometres. The attempt to issue return tickets with a 50% fare reduction has proved successful. It has been productive of an increase in traffic of about 75% and an increase in revenues of about 25%. This favourable development has induced the administration of the Federal Railways to extend this policy and to introduce considerable fare reductions applicable also to long distances, these intentions having the full support and approval of the Federal Government. It should be pointed out, however, in this connection that a consistent stimulation of the inland tourist traffic and, generally speaking, a careful attention to the interests of tourist traffic at large, providing, as it does, a living for thousands of our fellow men, demands that all those anxious for a favourable tourist season should not act in opposition to their own and their compatriots' interests, by confounding economics and politics, and by thus erecting barricades which the government cannot reasonably be expected to remove. At any rate, you may depend upon my attending very carefully to this matter. Economics, in general, and the persons seriously interested in tourist traffic, need motion and work, and not demonstrations or political phrases which, like a concave mirror, reflect a distorted picture.

The gauge of progress in the economic development is the decline of the unemployment curve. More plainly and clearly than out-of-work statistics speak the figures of employment statistics which show the working forces insured against illness. The average of the year 1937, as compared with that of the preceding year, shows an increase of 50,000, while the number of unemployed receiving the dole went down to 232,000, which is the 1937 yearly average. In comparison with the year 1933, this means a decrease of 100,000.

It is thoroughly clear to all of us that we must continue to bend all our energies towards the solution of the problem

of unemployment. It must be our goal to bring about, as nearly as possible, that everybody in the country who is willing to work shall be able to find work and that especially the 100,000 juveniles who grow up every year shall be absorbed in the economic process of the country. The care of juveniles is of paramount importance to us. Especially do we intend to provide training and educational efforts for the vast army of unskilled emergency workers which will result in an ever-increasing number of trained and skilled workers whose employment gets less difficult as time goes on. We have determined, furthermore, by means of a special stimulation of building activities, to reduce considerably the number of unemployed in the building trade, the 1937 average of which still amounts to 73,000.

The Federal Government has determined upon the Work Programme for the current year. Public work will be sponsored by the government to about the same extent as in the preceding year. The sum appropriated for these purposes amounts to about 299 million schillings.

Added to this are a number of other measures intended to create work in the country. In this connection, the government has determined to raise the guarantee on second mortgages applicable to buildings containing small or medium-sized flats from 20 to 40 million schillings, the guarantee having been introduced in the past year and only partly absorbed. It has, furthermore, been determined to grant a subsidy of 10% to building costs of small and medium-sized flats, a measure which will have the effect of lowering the rate of interest on mortgages applicable to such buildings and of rendering profitable the building of houses containing small and medium-sized flats. Since this matter is urgent, owing to the closely approaching opening of the building season, the Federal Government has decided to enact the law concerning the furthering of building small flats, in accordance with the Authorization Clause III of the Constitution, and I now beg to ask for the agreement of

the Federal Diet. Beyond this, the question of settlements will have the increased attention of the government so that, in this way, too, the little man in Austria may be helped and building activities stimulated.

Special care ought to be devoted to the question of Work Service as well as to the problem of Home Work. In this respect the government will take the standpoint that, in the case of awarding public work, shop work is to get the preference. That the fate of the home worker of either sex is a matter which continues to have my attention, I had occasion to point out on a different occasion in this House. It will be the special task of the State Secretary for Employees' and Workers' Protection to occupy himself also with this highly important question.

Further important items in our work programme refer to the development and modernizing of the telephone network and the electrification of the Federal Railways, with the erection of the power plant Stubach II, entailing an expenditure of about 15 million schillings. Added to this is the considerable development of our electrical plants by the closely impending erection of the new power plant at Enns, entailing an expenditure of nearly 30 million schillings.

And, finally, provision has been made to bring about, eventually, a change from left-driving to right-driving in the entire Federal district. In the larger cities this implies the necessity of transforming traffic conditions, with an expenditure of more than 20 million schillings. The provisions made for the covering of this amount will not mean an added tax upon the population.

The government has determined to continue in its efforts to bring about a further development of the country's tourist traffic. It is planned: to subsidize schemes for special trains into districts that are particularly suitable economically; to issue petrol vouchers to foreign motorists who make a stay of a certain duration in Austria; to enact a Hotel Credit Law

which, in special cases, is to provide for the granting of loans for the purpose of erecting additional hotel buildings or altering existing ones; and to develop tourist-traffic propaganda suitably and purposefully.

Thus, by consistent and deliberate work, the economic bases are to be established for the success of the Austrian task.

The government is determined to stick to its constructive economic policy. Favourable conditions exist in this respect. The Austrian Budget, which is fully open to public control, is balanced. Within the past five years foreign indebtedness has gone down from 4,250 million schillings to 2,060 million schillings, less than half of the former amount. The issuing bank's reserves of gold and means of foreign payment have been augmented, in the course of the year 1937, by 57 million schillings. This is all the more remarkable because the consistent currency policy of our issuing-bank has made it possible to relieve the goods traffic of foreign-payment restrictions, a fact which greatly works to the advantage of our economics inasmuch as no difficulties and obstacles exist to impede the influx of raw materials. Savings deposits at the leading Credit Institutes have mounted, from 2,187 million schillings in 1934 to 2,450 million schillings in January 1938. Therein lie valuable symptoms of capital formation.

The policies adopted by Austria in the realm of state finances and currency politics within recent years have proved entirely beneficial. They have been the means of leading us upwards in difficult times. No fundamental changes in these policies are to be made. They offer for our circumstances and for our country the safest guarantee of a lasting and continually progressing improvement and of the strengthening of our economic situation.

The question dealing with Austria's economic possibilities must therefore clearly and unequivocally be answered in the affirmative. Concentration and tranquillity in the

country will help; discord, disorder and unsteadiness will retard progress. He who is desirous of retarding progress is the enemy, and especially the enemy of the Austrian worker. The economic requirements therefore justify the inner political programme of the Front in Austria.

To be sure, it is but natural that a small state must politically and economically depend upon the development of those surrounding it and therefore is in need of inter-state relations. The fewer the obstacles in the exchange-traffic of goods, the saner and better is it for states and people; the greater the difficulties and restrictions, the more adverse and unreasonable for the standard of living of the individual and for the life of the state.

Our relations with foreign countries have, for a long time, been moving along normal and accustomed channels. The re-established and, we hope, lasting, close and most amicable relations with the German Reich have been mentioned before. I am able to pass over another friend and neighbour in this connection, because our attitude and sentiments, based upon hundreds of historic and other reasons, have been unequivocally made known and established, so that our friendship need not be especially emphasized: I have reference to Hungary!

At any rate, it is not necessary specially to point out the fact that we are firmly determined to continue our policy along the well-tried channels of the Roman Protocols, whose economic and political importance has lost none of its actuality to-day.

Let me recall three proofs of this: Firstly, the fact that the repeatedly mentioned Austro-German Arrangement of the 11th July, 1936, which has now, on the 12th February, 1938, been expressly ratified, mentions the undiminished continuance of the Roman Protocols and even, from an Austrian standpoint, presupposes them; secondly, the gratifying fact of the continued and favourable development of economic relations with our great Italian neighbour; and,

finally, the solemn assurance and the proof of undiminished vitality expressed in the recent conference of the Signatory States in Budapest, in January 1938.

It would therefore be unjustified and misleading to speak of a change in the inter-state relations existing between Italy and Austria, or between Austria and Italy. On the contrary, I have repeatedly taken occasion to point out in this place that the Chief of the Italian Government, Benito Mussolini—whose strong will-power and unflinching determination we have always esteemed and admired, as well as his clear recognition of cultural contacts and ties in the leadership of his country—has a full understanding of and sympathy for our Austria in a variety of directions, but is at all times meticulously careful to avoid every semblance of internal interference.

So it has come about that to a personal understanding was added an atmosphere of confidence which, on repeated occasions, has made it possible for me to discuss problems which, removed from the political questions of the day, lie on a popular cultural plain and which, because of traditions, historic development, and facts of the day, are of interest to both our peoples and are especially pertinent for us, in Austria. I have every reason for expressing the conviction that the future will witness no changes in this. In view of a number of false reports, I feel it necessary to declare this expressly and very plainly.

Furthermore, and at a moment when the whole world is once more occupied with us, I consider it most essential to repeat a number of pertinent assertions, made on countless occasions, so that there may be no doubt as to our unshakable will to maintain the integrity and independence of our Austrian Fatherland: our country is not only a thing produced by hundreds of years of lawful historical and organic development, but it is also a fixed point on the map of Europe, as well as an integral part of the entire cultural world, so that a collective picture of Europe would be un-

thinkable without it. Because we are desirous of doing justice to these established facts we may rightly claim that our policy be adjudged, both as a realist policy and an idealistic policy, in the service of peace!

One thing, in this connection, ought to be established beyond question: The Austrian who wishes to see his Fatherland free and independent has in mind everything rather than the Peace Treaty. In demanding recognition of our rights, we certainly do not do so on the basis of that document dictated by the exigencies of a bygone day. Authoritative for us remains the firm will of the Austrian people and the unchangeable conviction of its responsible leadership that our Austria must remain Austria!

We have neither willed nor been the cause of the geographical picture which the map shows since 1918. It is not we who have fixed our frontiers, but what we have we intend to keep, and we shall keep it. Austria shall live, and it will live because, even as it is, it is able to serve its own people, German culture, German destiny, the world, and the spirit of peace.

Solemnly, and before all the world, we profess our allegiance to our Fatherland and the principles which to us are the unchangeable basis of right. We are a Christian state, we are a German state, we are a free state, and everybody in this country is equal before the law.

We rejoice in the fact that we have succeeded in concluding economic and cultural agreements with a number of states, and especially with our neighbours; agreements which have turned out to be thoroughly satisfactory. I wish to lay stress upon the statement that it is strictly in keeping with our line that we are endeavouring to establish agreements with our neighbours, but also with other states, in all realms of economics and culture. It may be useful to reiterate that we consider our political foreign policy determined by nature and that we shall pursue it consciously and unflinchingly. In the interest of clarity, I deem it necessary

at this moment to emphasize this because at every approach to either a neighbouring state or to one of the Western Great Powers any number of conjectures and combinations seem to spring up. I suppose that no one is willing to dispute the right, nay, even the duty, of a cultural factor, which may boast of an uncontested influence reaching far beyond its narrow confines, to cultivate and maintain the very closest and most mutually beneficial relations with all the cultural and economic centres of the world.

It is upon this straight and unequivocal line that the amicable relations of Austria with all states harbouring friendly feelings, sympathy, respect, and interest for our country have been moving, and I may, in this connection, be permitted to point to the Great Powers of England, France and the United States of America, and, not least of all, to Switzerland, connected with us by ties of the heartiest sympathy.

We are fully aware of the fact that a small state may put its word upon the scales but indirectly if it is a question of deciding the fate of the great, the fate of the world, and the fate of a generation. Perhaps it would have been useful, at times, to have listened more carefully to the voice of the little fellows. I recall here many a clever and brave word which, in a decisive hour, the Swiss Federal Councillor Motta has uttered and which has penetrated far beyond the boundaries of his country. One thing is not denied even the small fellow, especially if, like us, he owes his fate to an unfortunate war, and if, as in our case, the very generation of soldiers whose own experience is connected with this fate is called upon to shoulder the responsibility in their country: that is, to raise his voice if he believes that by doing so he is serving the maintenance of peace and the welfare of the peoples. No doubt it has occurred that boundaries were wrongly established. This is as true of individual states as it undoubtedly is of whole continents. Perhaps the day will come when Europe, in the interest of

all concerned, will be newly apportioned, thus enabling a new, a different, and a more closely aligned Europe to seek new forms of organization and new guarantees of peace.

What upholds us Austrians—in spite of all wrong interpretations, fairy-tales and false reports which, because based on incorrect impressions, are liable to lead to wrong conclusions, conclusions which doubt the vitality and the will to live of our country—is the belief and the knowledge, affirmed again and again by hundreds of years of changing history, of the immortality of our country.

It is entirely clear to me that, for many a staunch Austrian, the past week has been a time of unheard-of tension and nervous strain. Countless were the telegrams, letters and communications of every kind, which reached me and my faithful colleagues, and from which spoke not only a great anxiety but an infinite amount of love of the Fatherland. I wish to thank all for this proof of their "Will to Austria". I wish to thank all, even those who, because of unsettled conceptions, may have temporarily lost their spiritual equilibrium. For, in the last analysis, it was the vital interest in the Austrian happening that equally moved all. And where this vital interest is in evidence, there can be no room for failure.

The new time surely makes special demands, and especially upon those who, heretofore, have been in opposite and hostile camps, and who are now to find the way to each other within the framework of the Patriotic Front.

Battle Comrades of the Front! I count upon you, upon your following, upon your discipline, upon your common sense, and upon your love for Austria. I wish to thank our splendid army which, in an exemplary manner, embodies the old traditions of the Austrian military spirit. I wish to thank the executive forces of the state, and especially the Vienna police which, in recent days and in these times, has had to overcome great difficulties. If I am unable to thank all to whom thanks are due, do not find fault with me.

APPENDIX I

Let me add my thanks to all who in these days have genuinely lived, acted, and thought for Austria.

I wish to thank especially the workmen and peasants who, in a most impressive way, have manifested their will for the freedom of the country. Let us beware, in this hour, of opening new chasms and new contrasts which could only make the situation more difficult. One thing holds good for all Austrians: We must no longer think in terms of parties, but in terms of men and Austria.

Every exaggerated sensitiveness must yield to the interest of the whole; every conscious or unconscious attempt to place oneself, one's interest, and one's opinions, in the foreground must unquestionably bow to the common dictates which are valid for us all, and which find their expression in the law concerning the Patriotic Front and in other laws.

A struggle for political supremacy—let me state this without reserve—between individual groups, no matter what their political convictions may be, I shall oppose with all the means at my command, because the country cannot stand such a struggle for supremacy and needs quiet. The possible and necessary platforms for the peaceful discussion and adjustment of differences of opinion will be provided within the framework of the Patriotic Front. It must be our paramount aim, however, to maintain social peace, the peace of labour, in the interest of the Fatherland. To-day is not the time for social struggles, for lock-outs, or for strikes. To-day is the time for work. What we need is assurance of work and procurement of work. The thought of the other fellow who is in need of help must always be stronger than the thought of oneself who is in the fortunate possession of the necessities of life.

I am pleased to learn that a number of men engaged in industrial and trade pursuits are beginning to tackle in an epoch-making and highly successful manner the problems of spare time and of workmen's settlements. That is

right, and these endeavours must be kept free from every encumbrance. I am pleased also to learn of the large number of collective agreements that were the outcome of unbiased negotiations between employers and workers. There is every reason for welcoming most warmly the more and more noticeable progress in vocational thinking on the part of all interested groups. The various Vocational Committees are plainly visible signs of this very gratifying progress.

What would have to be abolished is the tendency of individuals or groups to speak in the name of all, even in such instances when they ought to know that there is no justification for their claim. We are still lacking in the will to overcome the temptation to save oneself—by means of very convenient wholesale judgments—the trouble of painstaking and serious discussions in an honest search for a mutually bearable way and a reasonable solution. Not all workers subscribing to a resolution are Bolsheviks, and not all employers who oppose demands by suggesting practical considerations are anti-social enemies of the state and of economic conditions.

I should consider nothing more hazardous than the erection of new fronts between the workmen and other vocational groups. The far-visioned mentality of the responsible vocational leaders gives me the assurance that the right way of adjustment will be found out of the petty differences of the day. No longer must there be any class fronts.

One thing I should like to tell you now: If even this appeal should prove of no avail, if any kind of front should be established: A workman—an intellectual!—you'll always find me in the camp of the workman!

Not everybody who subscribes to National Socialist ideology and envisages the organic development of Central Europe by means of the creation of a new and great Reich need necessarily be a bad Austrian. What basic thoughts are irreconcilable and will ever remain so, opposing each

other like fire and water, all this has been explained and emphasized fully and in detail. In other words: Not everybody, who in individual matters is of a different opinion, regardless of what membership card of a former political organization he carries in his mind—whether it be a Socialistic, a Christian, or a Nationalistic one—not every one of these, I say, is a wicked enemy, provided he is ready to serve the thought of the Fatherland. To enforce this conception, which will cause man to find the way to his fellow man, without any intervening office or organization, that is the problem of the hour.

That, in this connection, our brave youths will have ample opportunity to manifest their radical activity by fighting for positive goals which are of far greater importance than a mere defensive, goes without saying. I should be quite willing, on the other hand, to do without those who in quiet times and because of their lack of other occupation have made it a practice to think up recipes as to how everything could be done better and arguments as to why everything is wrong, and who, when the pinch comes, see their task in the circulation of fairy-tales and sensational news of all kinds. By their thoughtlessness and defeatism, by their shaky confidence and by their kind of patriotism which is centred merely upon purely formal things, they contribute to the creation of that atmosphere of discouragement and failure which could do incalculable harm to our country.

The good, conservative Austrian, however, conscious of traditions, who sees things as they are, whose perspective is correct and who knows that the question of the day is not one concerned with a form of state, but one of the state and Fatherland itself—it is upon him that I call, now of all times, to co-operate in the fight for a common ideal animating him and others: for Austria!

You may rely upon it, we shall not betray our great traditions, neither shall we forget them: the time when it

was considered fashionable to sling mud is over once and for all.

One thing only I consider an urgent necessity. Demands, resolutions, the collecting of signatures, and group demonstrations of all kinds must be definitely abolished in the interest of reaching our goal. You will understand that I am ready at all times to listen to plans and suggestions of a practical and personal kind, but that, as a matter of principle, I must ignore them if they come in the form of demands.

The necessary concentration and consolidation, the strengthening of the position of the Front, will require a period of quiet and undisturbed development. When the hour for a decision, for a solemn avowal, and a manifestation of the collective will, has come, the Front which to-day, without counting members of families, includes three million Austrians, will call upon you. On this you may depend, and that you will come in an overwhelming majority, upon that I am willing to depend.

The time of the defensive and of repelling attacks is over. Now begins the period of inward concentration, of the close formation and development of the Austrian position. Austria will have to make it its ambition to continue to fulfil its mission as a German bulwark and to strengthen and make plainly discernible its character as a truly social state. And if you should now ask me, as has been done recently on the occasion of various manifestations and written communications: "Do you believe in the accomplishment of your programme, and what guarantees have you?", my reply is: I do not only believe it, I know it! To begin with, there stands like a wall the will to liberty of the Austrian people and the inner value of our country. Then again, the efficient and the brave have again and again found the way to each other in the hour of need, and the doubters and fainthearted have disappeared from the scene. Beyond that, the historical necessity and its recognition furnish me with a positive assurance.

APPENDIX I

Deep in my heart I carry the conviction that the memory of Engelbert Dollfuss and of all the martyrs of this country watch over and guard the feeble strength of those upon whom to-day's responsibilities rest. And, if you want to hear it, I trust in the good Lord who will not forsake our country. This trust, however, presumes that the Lord helps only those who are willing to stake their every effort and strength and to concentrate all their will-power.

And because we are determined, the victory is beyond a doubt!

Until death: Red-White-Red! Austria!

II

Dr. von Schuschnigg's official announcement of the plebiscite, and his speech in the Stadthalle at Innsbruck, March 9, 1938.

VIENNA.
March 9th.

PEOPLE OF AUSTRIA!

For the first time in the history of our Fatherland the leadership of the state demands of you an open affirmation of faith in your country.

SUNDAY, MARCH 13, 1938
is the day of the
PLEBISCITE.

All of you, men and women of free Austria, of whatever calling and whatever class, are called upon to make an affirmation of faith before the whole world. It is for you to say whether you are minded to accompany us on the path we are treading, the path that has for its goal social unity, equality of rights, the final liquidation of party dissensions, German peace within and without, and a policy of work!

The watchword is:

FOR A FREE AND GERMAN,
INDEPENDENT AND SOCIAL,
A CHRISTIAN AND UNITED
AUSTRIA!

APPENDIX II

FOR PEACE AND WORK
AND EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL
WHO AFFIRM THEIR FAITH IN THE PEOPLE AND THE FATHER-
LAND!

That is the aim of my policy.

The achievement of this aim is the task that confronts us, is the task that history imposes on us at this hour.

This watchword, which is now put before you in the form of a question, must be accepted or rejected in its entirety. He who accepts it will be serving the interests of the community, the interests, above all, of peace!

Therefore, fellow countrymen, show that you are in earnest in the resolve to usher in a new period of unity in the interests of your country. The world must be made to witness our will to live. Therefore, people of Austria, rise up as one man and answer YES!

Long live the Patriotic Front!

Long live Austria!

SCHUSCHNIGG.

INNSBRUCK.

March 9th.

THE CHANCELLOR'S SPEECH BEFORE OFFICIALS OF THE DISTRICT OF INNSBRUCK

FELLOW countrymen, comrades of the Patriotic Front, first of all, in accordance with the good old custom, let me respond to the welcome extended to me in the names of all of you by the Governor of the Province and the Provincial Leader of the Patriotic Front with a cordial "*Grüss Gott!*"

This evening I want first of all to quote a motto from one of the great German songs of freedom which has become world famous. Perhaps I may be permitted to vary it slightly to suit the present place and hour: "*Ans Heimat-*

land, ans teure, schliess dich an, das halte fest mit deinem ganzen Herzen, dort sind die Wurzeln deiner Kraft! " ("Cleave to your country, your dear native land, hold to it with all your heart, for there lie the roots of your strength!")

Fellow countrymen, you must not expect a formal speech from me to-day. There is nothing that I can add to what has been said in recent speeches by way of clarifying the situation. And yet I felt an inner urge to say what I have to say at this decisive hour, to express the thoughts uppermost in my mind, in my native province, that province which first returned me as its deputy to parliament some ten years ago, that province to which we have all of us returned whenever we have felt a need to attain clarity, to find strength, to gain a true perspective of events, and to affirm emphatically our faith in our native land, our people and the Fatherland.

Comrades, I know that this time is one which makes great demands on you all, on your patience, your nerves, your confidence. I thank you with all my heart for your vociferous outburst of enthusiasm, which, I well know, has not been evoked by your feelings for me, but your feelings for the Fatherland, and, I believe, the path that that Fatherland is resolved to tread. I am not, however, so very much concerned with enthusiasm at this juncture. I am not appealing to your feelings, but first and foremost to your reason, your understanding, and therefore I wish to tell you quite clearly and unequivocally what are my aims, how I envisage the future course of events, and what, I am most profoundly convinced, is essential in Austria for the welfare of the nation, the welfare of every class and calling, the welfare of our native province, the welfare of our Fatherland.

When, ten years ago, I was privileged, from this platform and in this hall, in my native town of Innsbruck, to make my first political speech, the keynote of my speech was :

PEACE AND UNITY.

APPENDIX II

Knowing full well that only the strong can adopt this watchword, I repeat it at this hour, addressing my words far beyond the circle of the friends gathered together in this hall, to the whole of Austria. My appeal is to the reason. Once again, I exhort you to unity.

WHAT ARE OUR AIMS?

Let me put them quite briefly:

It is our aim that in the immediate future places shall be found in industry and trade for thirty thousand young people.

It is our aim that through the medium of the Labour Service further battalions of young people, willing and able to work, shall be snatched from idleness and want and habituated to work.

It is our aim not only to proceed with last year's programme of emergency works, but materially to surpass it. We propose, therefore, to expend nine million schillings this year on building roads in the Tyrol alone, to complete the construction of the road in the Eastern Tyrol from the frontier near Sillian and of the road in Ausserfern in the Lermoos district. We intend to proceed with the construction of dams and other public works which are of particular advantage to the peasantry and of benefit to the whole country.

We intend—and it is to my great joy that I am able to announce this—this very week, thanks to the sympathetic co-operation of the Associations of Industry, Trade and Commerce and the Unified Trades Union, to solve the question of the workers' holidays.

Our aim, in a word, is that the people of this country shall have work. The policy that I was able to announce in Innsbruck on September 29th of last year, namely, that 1938 should be a year of work—that policy it is our aim to bring to realization with our own forces, whilst observing those principles which we follow in the economic sphere,

those sound principles which we have adopted in the last few years and from which we have never deviated by a hair's breadth. And we shall succeed. And now I ask you all, and I must ask you, must ask all Austrians: What do you want?

WORK OR POLITICS?

It is impossible to have both simultaneously for any length of time. That may be all very well for a transitional period, but now we must have peace, and hence all those who have any sense of responsibility, who stand by this German people, must be resolved to give the people what it needs in order to live. For we mean to live. In order to carry our policy into effect, I must know whether the people of Austria approve of the path we propose to take. What path are we taking?

It is just four years ago since that morning of July 26th when I was amongst those standing by the coffin of Engelbert Dollfuss. His body had been laid out for the time being in the room that is now my study, and the Tyrolese Imperial Marksmen kept the first watch over it.

One does not forget such a moment.

At such a moment one makes resolutions, and one stands or falls by them and cannot depart from them. At that time when, in accordance with the Constitution of May 1st, which lays upon the Chancellor full responsibility for the political line in the country, I took up the reigns of government, one thing was clear to me from the outset: it was essential at this grievous moment to find a way back, through all the confusion and chaos of the last few years, to unity, to national peace. It was essential to reconcile people to each other once more, and

IT WAS ESSENTIAL TO ELABORATE A POLICY FOR AUSTRIA SO CLEARLY THAT NO ONE COULD TAKE EXCEPTION TO IT AS HAVING EITHER A PREDOMINANTLY SOCIAL OR PREDOMINANTLY NATIONAL TINGE.

APPENDIX II

It was my ambition to establish the peace that Dollfuss desired, because without peace the co-operative effort which was essential if the vitality and strength of the country were to be preserved would prove impossible, because without peace the Fatherland would be endangered. And thus I took this path in full awareness of the responsibility it laid upon me.

I told myself what it was we wanted.

WE WANT A FREE AND GERMAN AUSTRIA.

WE WANT AN INDEPENDENT AND SOCIAL AUSTRIA.

WE WANT A CHRISTIAN AND UNITED AUSTRIA.

WE WANT BREAD AND PEACE IN THE LAND AND WE WANT
EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL WHO TAKE THEIR STAND BY THE
PEOPLE AND THEIR FATHERLAND.

That is what we want. That was the guiding thread of my policy, that was my goal. It was to this end that I and my fellow workers again and again appealed to our countrymen in the Tyrol and the whole of Austria. There was never any doubt that we for our part were perfectly sincere, and it was in logical pursuance of our policy that we concluded the Agreement of July 11, 1936, and

THE BERCHTESGADEN AGREEMENT OF FEBRUARY 1938.

It was a perfectly consistent step. We mean to keep the Agreement and we know and are convinced that it is interpreted in all quarters in strict accordance with its letter and its spirit. But now I will and must know whether the people of Austria want this free and German, independent, social, Christian and united Fatherland, that is, a Fatherland that will tolerate no party dissensions. I must know now whether the watchword "Peace and bread in the land" can really bring together our fellow countrymen and their Front, which is invincible, and whether the concept of equal rights for all in the country, provided that they stand by the people and the country, is acceptable to everyone without exception. It

FAREWELL AUSTRIA

is this that I must now know, and therefore, fellow countrymen of the Tyrol, fellow Austrians, men and women, I call upon you at this hour.

NEXT SUNDAY, MARCH 13TH, WE ARE HOLDING A PLEBISCITE.

I have already mentioned that article 93 of the constitution lays full responsibility for the country's policy on the Chancellor. I have again and again mentioned that I do not desire that we in Austria should build up our conception of the Fatherland on persons or personal regimes. Every one of us is a worker in Austria. For years there have been continual demands for a plebiscite. Now the moment for it has come,

Out with your affirmation of faith!

I know that of all the Austrian provinces the Tyrol is the one in which the concept of freedom is as beyond dispute as is the indubitably German character of this beloved country of ours. I know that this is true of the population of all the provinces of Austria, I know that we all desire

THAT TRUE INDEPENDENCE

which has been so frequently mentioned during the last few weeks, that independence which is not based on peace treaties and international agreements. And that is why I feel impelled

to give proof before God and the world and the whole German people that, mindful of our duty and conscious of the historical importance of this moment, we are prepared to stand up for our independence, for the political independence of Austria.

And then the social ideal that unites us all. Who is there in this country, both in our ranks and outside them, who would venture to proclaim himself as non-social. The social ideal is part of the very foundations of our new state. The Christian ideal corresponds to the history, to the

character, of our country, and as for unity, I have already mentioned it. It is because we understand the age, because we have accumulated experience, that we have no wish to be impeded and hindered once more by idle party conflicts in our firm resolution to work. The time of party dissensions is over for us all.

I have already said all there is to say with regard to the programme of public works, with regard to bread and peace in the country. They need no further mention, and as for equal rights for all in the life of the people and the state, we will guarantee them to everyone, in loyalty to those principles which we have long since taken for granted. There has often enough been talk of a plebiscite. In the first speech I made after taking over the chancellorship I replied to the demands for a plebiscite: depend upon it, the time for it will come, but we are not going to have our hands forced. The watchword is so simple, so comprehensible to all, that no special propaganda is required. We cannot tolerate economic uncertainty in the country.

A PLEBISCITE WILL BE HELD ON SUNDAY.

You who are drawn up in the ranks of the Patriotic Front under the red-white-red standard, you who have rallied to the national colours and the ideal of Dollfuss—it is to you I address the watchword: Close your ranks more than ever at this moment, friends! This is not the moment to indulge in polemics. It is the moment to affirm our faith. And then again: it must be clear to each one of us that the new epoch, on the corner-stone of which we wish whole-heartedly to build our future, demands sacrifices of us. Things may perhaps now and then be less easy than before, the strain on us may now and then be greater, but it is worth while trying to restore unity in the country, to make people live in peace with each other again, to put an end to the state of affairs in which the mere presence of one is regarded by another as a provocation. I know that

FAREWELL AUSTRIA

all this has already been said, but it must be made clear, we must at last know without a shadow of doubt

WHAT THINGS ARE LEGAL AND WHAT ILLEGAL.

As to what is illegal, we can have no truck with it. It is open to everyone to co-operate legally on the basis of the Patriotic Front, in loyalty to the spirit and the letter of the aforementioned Agreement. Let everyone prove that he can. I appeal to everyone, and not least to our Austrian workers.

Let me say one plain word. I want to be quite frank and open :

The threats and attempts at intimidation which have been made here and there under the cloak of patriotic sentiment, and under the alleged sanction of the Agreement, cannot be tolerated.

There must be good will on all sides. And here I must appeal once more to your sense of discipline. All of you have been engaged in years of political struggle. I must now demand of you all

OBEDIENCE AND UNDERSTANDING.

You must not let anything make you lose heart, you must not let yourselves be led astray, either, by the thousand and one rumours that are incessantly put about. Friends, preserve your sense of humour, and hold your head high as has always been our wont. Then all will be well. You must take the German peace literally and honestly, and not one of you must be to blame if the hard path we have to tread in the interests of the whole people, in the interests of our native land, of the Fatherland and of peace, does not lead to success. You must maintain discipline, of course—and there is no need for me to tell you that no one will be asked to put up with anything unreasonable. But I am convinced that you will not give way to any momentary feelings.

APPENDIX II

THERE MUST BE PEACE IN THE LAND!

Unity and peace would be disturbed if the other side were not to keep in letter and spirit to the terms of the published Agreement. I acquiesce fully in that Agreement and I stand by it in the fullest awareness of my responsibility. It is necessary, it must be carried out. But not a comma more!

I think it my duty to state that there are Austrians with party ties, from this and that camp, who have taken a firm and resolute stand in relation to the problems of the new epoch. The National Socialist is unreservedly welcome in our camp and, provided that he confines himself to legal activities, he will enjoy full and unlimited equality of rights. That goes without saying. But we cannot suffer a former Socialist, if he wears a patriotic emblem, to be regarded as a fully-fledged comrade, we cannot allow him, if he enters the Patriotic Front, to talk Bolshevism, to talk of the Red Front. That would be turning things upside down, we cannot allow that. Every former member of a party has still, of course, a right to-day to his political opinions and convictions, and there must be

EQUALITY OF RIGHTS FOR ALL.

To discriminate in this respect would be false, dishonest. The workers are welcome in the Front, but formations that resemble parties cannot be tolerated. You must show, you in particular, that you are used to discipline, that you understand the times, and you must take up your places in the ranks of the Patriotic Front, which exists for everyone; the stronger its individual battalions, the more invincible will be the ideal it stands for.

I wish to send a special greeting at this moment to the Social Industrial Union of Kufstein, which has been kind enough to send me a telegram of welcome to the Tyrol. I am particularly glad

THAT IT SHOULD BE IN THE TYROL

that the sympathetic collaboration of the corporations should have already yielded such gratifying results. I greet as old friends the peasants of the Tyrol who have rallied to the Tyrolese colours despite the troublous times and all the calamities that have come upon them. I greet you and count upon you. I greet, furthermore, the members of all other classes and callings. I feel it my duty sincerely to thank the Tyrolese authorities, who, as I know, have come through a period of great difficulty, for their exemplary co-operation and the irreproachable way in which they have discharged their duties. I am delighted, fellow countrymen of the Tyrol, to be able to tell you that the concept "a soldier of the Tyrol" is once more current throughout Austria. The Tyrolese Battalion of Chasseurs which is quartered in Vienna enjoys especial popularity among the population, and has always been to the fore whenever there has been any question of standing up for the Fatherland. And that is just as it should be. Comrades of the Front, this appeal for unity, for peace in the country, which is addressed to all, assumes that there is good will in all quarters.

The Sunday that will proclaim this country's affirmation of faith in its principles, in national unity, in peace, in our programme of work is

NEXT SUNDAY, MARCH 13TH.

Fellow countrymen, believe me, I know what it means to bear responsibility. I took the sole responsibility for this decision, I stand and fall, with all that I hold dear and believe, by this affirmation of faith that the Austrian people is to make, but I think that this responsibility can and must be taken, because I cannot conceive that a single man or woman who knows what is at stake can to-day be against our watchword.

Do not let anything lead you astray. Fellow countrymen of the Tyrol and Austrians, I call upon you, in

APPENDIX II

accordance with the instructions which the Governor of the Province will give you, to remember the word of exhortation that even in peaceful times we have often quoted in our province in the past, when there has been mention of the events of the year 1809 :

MEN, IT IS TIME !

Therefore we shall give proof, though without any ill intentions towards anyone, that a new epoch is dawning in the land. If God will, a sunny and blessed epoch, which will allow the wounds of yesterday to be healed, and will unite the people of this country under a common banner. That is why an appeal is made to all men of good will, whatever their political views. Affirm your faith in unity, men and women, Tyrolese and Austrians, say yes to the Tyrol,

SAY YES TO AUSTRIA.

III

Dr. von Schuschnigg's last speech, broadcast at 7.30 p.m. on Friday, March 11, 1938.

AUSTRIAN men and Austrian women! This day has placed us in a tragic and decisive situation. I have to give my Austrian fellow countrymen the details of the events of the day.

The German Government to-day handed to President Miklas an ultimatum, with a time-limit attached, ordering him to nominate as Chancellor a person to be designated by the German Government and to appoint members of a cabinet on the orders of the German Government; otherwise, German troops would invade Austria.

I declare before the world that the reports issued in Austria concerning disorders created by the workers and the shedding of streams of blood and the allegation that the situation had got out of the control of the government were lies from A to Z.

President Miklas asks me to tell the people of Austria that we have yielded to force, since we are not prepared in this terrible situation to shed blood, and we decided to order the troops to offer no serious—to offer no resistance.

The Inspector-General of the army, General Schilharsky, has been placed in command of the troops. He will issue further orders to them.

So I will take leave of the Austrian people with the German word of farewell, uttered from the depths of my heart, "God protect Austria".

